

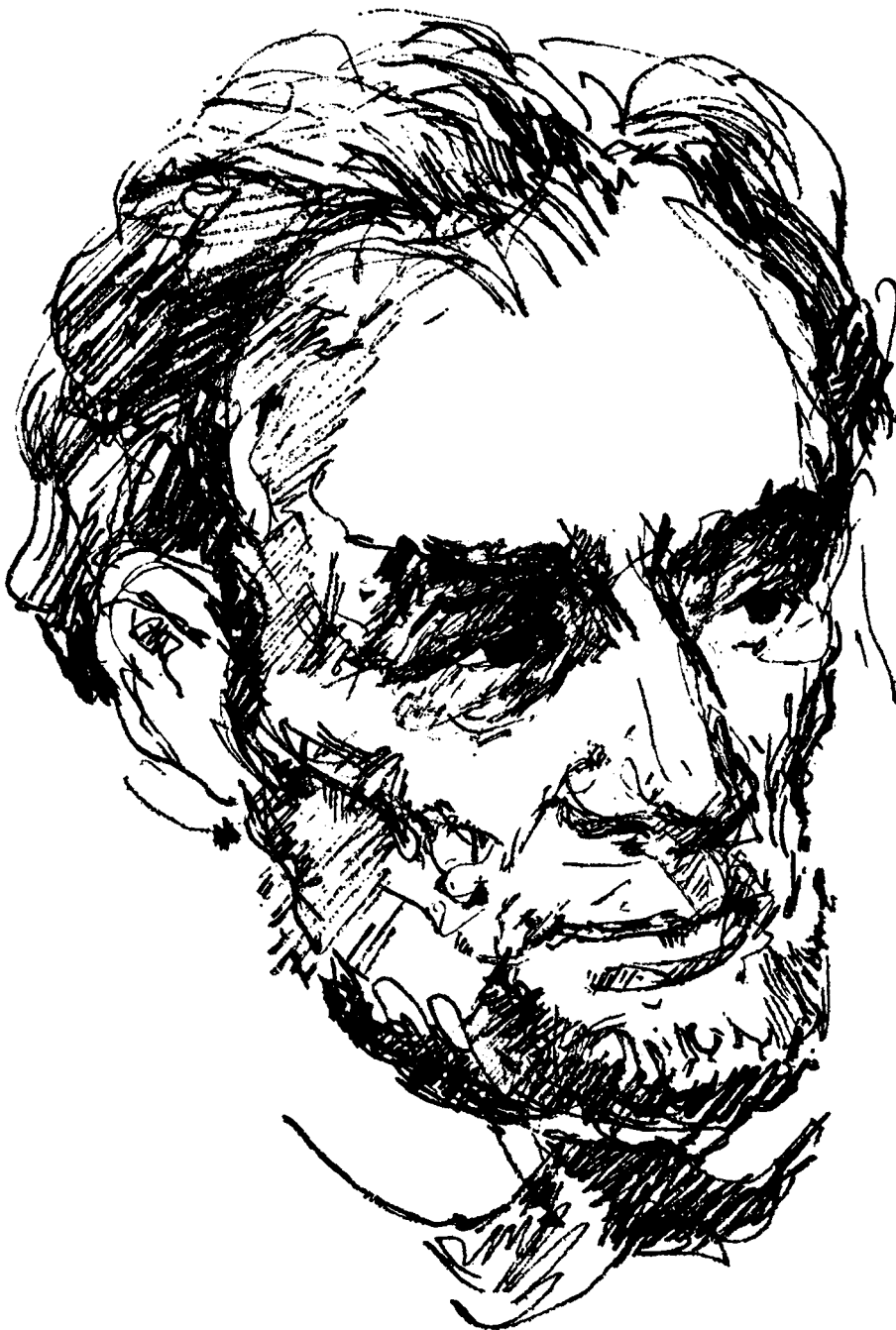
The Washington Tea Party: Man Overboard?

**RIPON
FORUM**

OCTOBER, 1973

Vol. IX, No. 18

ONE DOLLAR



“Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good.”

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
November 10, 1864

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Ripon Society
509 C Street N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20002

THE RIPON FORUM is published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, Inc., 14a Eliot Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. Second class postage rates paid Boston, Massachusetts. Contents are copyrighted © 1972 by the Ripon Society, Inc. Correspondence to the Editor is welcomed.

In publishing this magazine the Ripon Society seeks to provide a forum for a spirit of criticism, innovation, and independent thinking within the Republican Party. Articles do not necessarily represent the opinion of the Ripon Society, unless they are explicitly so labeled.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES are \$10 a year, \$5 for students, servicemen, and for Peace Corps, Vista and other volunteers. Overseas air mail, \$10 extra. Advertising rates on request. \$10 of any contribution to the Ripon Society is credited for a subscription to the Ripon FORUM.

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•Margin Release

PETERSBURG, N.Y. — My friend Truck and Spiro Agnew have been having their problems these days. "It seems like someone's out to get me," says Truck, a 17-year-old dude whose face has appeared on a few life-sized wanted pictures in his home town.

It probably can be safely assumed that Spiro has had similar thoughts about the White House in recent days. I got an idea of how Truck and Spiro felt the other day when I got stopped by "Blue 11."

I had just picked up Truck outside his apartment in a public housing project. As usual, I was late and asked Truck to hurry as he got in the car. As I pulled away from the curb, a police car, "Blue 11," rolled slowly down the street. It came to a stop just past the next intersection.

I don't pay much attention to police; knowing that I haven't usually robbed or murdered anyone lately, I figure I don't have much to worry about. There's no self-confidence like self-righteousness, I guess.

"They're going to pull you over," said Truck. I didn't really take him seriously. After all, my 1965 Dodge Dart station wagon with 120,000 miles on the odometer is not exactly the sort of vehicle a self-respecting thief would covet. So I hung a left and continued to obey the local traffic signs. "They're following us," said Truck.

"I know I have out-of-state plates," I thought, "but this is ridiculous." A block later, I heard the horn and Blue 11 motioned me to the side of the road. I pulled into a side street and strode decisively back to Blue 11. Frank took a look in my car while Pete examined my license. It was probably with a lot of reluctance that Frank and Pete watched us drive off. They've been arresting Truck for seven years. It's sort of force of habit. When the local police recently distributed "wanted" cards with the pictures of Leggie and Truck, Blue 11 commented, "We don't need these damn things. We've been arresting them since they were little punks."

Ironically, Truck and Spiro probably don't even like each other. I know Truck doesn't like Spiro — and Spiro probably thinks the crime problem could be solved by putting Truck and his friends in prison denims.

But both Truck and Spiro have a press problem. For a while, Truck was getting as much media coverage in the local newspapers, radio and TV as the Vice President. His most recent arrest got his face a place on ABC news in New York City. Prior to his arrest, the media reported that Truck "was positively identified" as responsible for the armed liberation of Leggie's girlfriend. (See the September FORUM) The identification was so positive that Truck was never charged with the crime. But the media never retracted the allegation. And Truck was never tried for any crimes. Meanwhile, he was convicted in the larger court of public opinion.

Since Truck was allegedly involved in the theft of a large cache of weapons, even his friends presume he's guilty.

"Here comes *pillo* (thief)," his friends say when Truck walks down the street. "You're crazy. Why did you steal all them guns?" Truck is out of jail now, but the media persist in perpetuating his guilt. Apparently, the press is unconcerned that police never had any "positive identification." In fact, it seems that they had *no* proof.

But that's not what they were saying when Truck heard his name on the radio two months ago. His family urged him to surrender himself before the police put him in eternal surrender. But when you're 17 and can't make bail, it's hard to wait for justice in jail. So Truck hid. A month and a half in jail, and the prosecution nollod his case for lack of evidence. Blue 11 was there. "That damn Truck is always getting out," they said.

Spiro's trial by media still isn't over. The prosecutors are still presenting hearsay evidence. There's a fine line between journalistic responsibility and journalistic lynching. I guess Spiro and Truck would appreciate it if the press would discover the whereabouts of that line.

I doubt if Truck has much respect for the media. But he does have respect for another profession. He knows why he spends time in jail when arrested and the Plumbers don't. He knows what the difference is between him and Spiro Agnew. He knows how the American criminal justice system works.

"They got better lawyers," says Truck. db

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Editorial Board COMMENTARY

The Bombing Gap

by James H. Manaban

At his Senate confirmation hearing last month, Secretary of State-designate Henry Kissinger proclaimed: "We cannot conduct foreign policy by deceiving the elected representatives of the people."

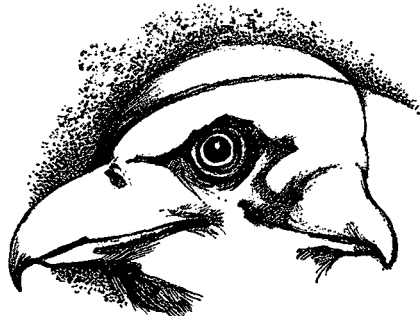
Unfortunately, this is exactly what the Nixon Administration has done with regard to the bombing of Cambodia. A review of the chronology is informative:

March, 1969 — Two months after President Nixon took office, he ordered American B-52s to start bombing suspect Viet Cong troops in Cambodia. Over the next 14 months, there were a total of 3,875 raids over Cambodia, and more than 100,000 tons of bombs were dropped. Former Air Force Major Hal Knight has revealed that each morning he took the computer tapes, targeting orders, tape recordings of pilot conversations, notes and other material and burned them in a barrel. False documents were then turned in to show that the bombing had occurred in South Vietnam. Major Knight was told that these steps were

necessary because of political repercussions that would occur if Congress and the public found out.

Nov. 20, 1969 — Gen. Earle Wheeler, then chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, ordered that B-52s strike targets in South Vietnam at the same time raids were being conducted in Cambodia. "All sorties against targets in Cambodia will be programmed against preplanned alternate targets in RVN (Republic of Vietnam)," he wrote. "Strikes on these latter targets will provide a resemblance to normal operations thereby providing a credible story for replies to press inquiries." The then secretary of defense, Melvin Laird, approved this memorandum in his own handwriting.

April 2, 1970 — Secretary of State William Rogers told the Senate For-



ign Relations Committee: "Cambodia is one country where we can say with complete assurance that our hands are clean and our hearts are pure."

April 30, 1970 — President Nixon announced the "Cambodian incursion," sending American troops and planes into the theretofore neutral nation. In his television address he stated: "American policy since (1954) has been to scrupulously respect the neutrality of the Cambodian people . . . For five years, neither the United States nor South Vietnam has moved against these sanctuaries because we did not wish to violate the territory of a neutral nation." As he spoke, bombs from B-52s had been raining onto this neutral nation for 14 months.

April, 1973 — The Senate Armed Services Committee requested a statistical history of the bombing in Southeast Asia, and the Department of Defense provided figures showing there was no bombing of Cambodia during any month until May, 1970.

July 16, 1973 — Major Hal Knight

revealed the secret raids, after which Defense Secretary James Schlesinger admitted them. Gen. George Brown, Air Force chief of staff, denied that the reports had been false, because "they were not intended to deceive those with a security need to know." Congress and the public apparently had no "need to know" and hence were not entitled to the truth.

July 18, 1973 — Former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird stated "I did not at any time direct or authorize falsification of official records." Gen. Earle Wheeler stated, "I certainly did not authorize falsification of records. The whole thing makes no sense." (Gen. Wheeler's memorandum of Nov. 20, 1969, was not yet public knowledge.)

July 20, 1973 — The Pentagon's top spokesman, Jerry Friedheim, admitted to newsmen that the statistics given Congress and the press to cover up the secret bombing of Cambodia were "a damned lie," and said "that was a blunder of some magnitude."

July 25, 1973 — Robert Seamens, former secretary of the Air Force, revealed that he had not been consulted or informed of the secret bombing or the falsification of records.

Aug. 10, 1973 — The Wheeler memorandum, in which Melvin Laird specifically approved falsified reporting of the secret raids in Cambodia, was revealed. The memo was classified "Top Secret — Sensitive — NoFORN — Eyes Only — Absolutely for Eyes of Addressee Only."

Aug. 20, 1973 — President Nixon acknowledged that he approved the secret bombing raids in Cambodia. He said there were no complaints from Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who was head of state at the time. "The fact of the bombing was disclosed to appropriate government and congressional leaders," Nixon said, "who had any right to know or need to know."

Aug. 21, 1973 — Prince Sihanouk denied that his government had ever acquiesced in the secret bombing, and stated that he had made repeated protests at the time in formal messages to the U.S. Embassy in Phnom Penh. "You know Nixon has lied many times," the prince declared. "He has lied about Watergate, and now he is lying about the bombing."

Can anyone believe otherwise? ■

For the Sake of Recon- ciliation

by *Howard W. Robison*

The word "amnesty" is strong medicine these days. The mere mention of the term in polite conversation can quickly alter the emotional pace of the exchange, and the favorable use of the word by a politician will usually provoke at least one "yellow-bellied communist" letter from an enraged constituent. So, why even venture into this booby-trapped ground, when there are already far too many divisive issues like school-busing, school-prayer and abortion to generate animosities and billboards at home?

In the case of this Republican congressman there are hard-to-isolate personal reasons, some of which probably derive from a life-long admiration for Abraham Lincoln. There is also a conviction, fed by a good deal of thought and writing on the subject, that some basic human ties are waiting to be renewed in America.

In a series of statements to the House of Representatives, I attempted to draw upon the historical precedents for amnesty and to suggest that one such, or some combination of them, could be adapted to present circumstances. I now find the historical argument less persuasive — at least to myself — than the durable bond which links us together as Americans and which explains why the United States remains, more or less, a united nation in the midst of wide social, cultural and political diversity.

I used a Bruce Catton story in one of my speeches which told of a Southern soldier who, during one of those periodic lulls in combat, got into a fist-fight with a Union counterpart by charging that Lincoln was "a damned abolitionist." Officers from both sides eventually had to step in and break up the fracas. Even if the story's authenticity is questioned, one can easily imagine such a situation, and that admission unlocks some salient truths about the potential in America for reconciliation of even the most difficult conflict in attitudes.

During the heated days of the civil rights movement in the South, when outsiders from the North were "freedom-riding" through the most hide-bound regions of Mississippi and Alabama, and federalized troops — mostly Southern boys, I imagine — were backing up school integration orders, I was constantly amazed at the strength of the glue that holds this country together. A foreign observer would have had every reason to predict bloody insurrection, but I think most citizens in both the North and South gave scarcely any thought to that possibility.

As I consider such instances, and examine my own inclination to seek reconciliation between American exiles overseas and those persons who are so adamantly convinced of the cowardice or unpatriotism of the draft evaders, an axiom is again unfolding: "Only a strong and self-assured person — or nation — can afford to forgive." Of course, there are many opponents of the Indochina war who demand that the United States government be the penitent, seeking forgiveness because of the evil of its policies in Indochina and the moral rectitude of those who refused to participate. However, these people are speaking of a forgive-

ness which is not merely acceptance and toleration of differing viewpoints, but a categorical demand for agreement with their own moral and political principles. I would rather seek the human ingredient in forgiveness — that quality which says we don't and maybe can't agree, but you are my neighbor, a member of my community, a fellow citizen. That gesture comes from a confident individual or, in the political realm, from a confident nation, looking calmly toward the future and dispassionately at the past.

Reconciliation after any unhappy conflict also brings an interval from contention and a diminution of self-righteousness. In effect, it brings release which, even if brief in duration, allows people to recognize their mutual feelings and failings and to start over again from a relatively equal footing. At the root of my own quest for a new reconciliation, I am sure there is a longing for a little more brotherhood after all of the freely-expended hate, contempt and violence of the last decade. I do not find that notion at odds with the work-a-day need of our form of government which, to make it work, demands the production of a comity and toleration among conflicting points of view.

To make amnesty work today — and I speak not of "blanket" amnesty — and to make it a dramatic and effective means to a wider reconciliation, I have suggested that an amnesty review board, similar to that employed by President Harry S Truman, would again be the most effective procedure. A review board of this type could screen the case of each so-called "draft dodger" and recommend, where appropriate, some form of alternative service as a condition of return to the country. Rather than "honoring" those who decided to leave the United States, as some have suggested, this process would honor our long-held national concept of justice shared in every quarter.

As I have discovered, Congress is very reluctant to discuss the amnesty concept now, let alone a specific amnesty procedure. When it comes, amnesty will derive from the urging of enough citizens who believe Lincoln's counsel that: "A government can properly have no purpose to punish merely for punishment's sake." ■

The Case for Cannabis Santiva

by John J. Buckley

The disenchantment of the young people in our society manifests itself in a distrust of the "establishment," a disrespect for many of our laws and a suspicion of society's values.

The issue of decriminalizing marijuana and the manner this issue has been handled by politicians answers some questions regarding the so-called "alienation of youth." Our present approach toward marijuana ignores reality and is hypocritical. It encourages disrespect of society's laws and mores.

Young people are being told by the men and women who make the laws that "grass" is harmful, will decay their spirit and destroy their lives. In fact, these youngsters know from first-

hand experience that this is just not so. They realize that marijuana is only harmful if abused excessively, has less of a negative effect on their spirit than alcohol — the drug of choice of their elders — and will only destroy their lives if they are caught under the present laws and thrown in prison.

We know more about the effects of marijuana than we do about aspirin. Starting with the Indian Hemp Commission Report in 1894 countless studies have been conducted on the subject. The New York Mayor's Committee on Marijuana in 1944, the Wootton Report done for the Home Office of Great Britain in 1968 and the National Institute of Mental Health Report to Congress in 1971, to name a few, all have documented what every teenager in the United States has known about the drug for many years. Most recently, these observations have been substantiated by the President's National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse, the majority of whose members were appointed by President Nixon.

Most law enforcement personnel only pay lip service to the laws regarding "pot." The very people who are charged with enforcing the laws, ignore them. With this example it is not surprising that youngsters have a great distaste for the laws and those who enforce them.

The implications are even more clearly defined by the illustration of Watergate. People holding some of the highest positions of responsibility in the land apparently only paid lip service to or, in some cases, actually broke the laws. This is not the kind of example which encourages the nation's



youth to become part of the political process.

The fact of the matter is our laws do not keep up with the changing society they are intended to regulate. As long as those in a position to change or influence the law-making process refuse to recognize this, the youngsters growing up under these outdated and unrealistic laws will continue to avoid joining the political process. Instead, they will turn from it.

It is time we stopped ignoring the reality that people smoke marijuana, that it is not as harmful as cigarettes or alcohol if used with discretion, that those who are going to use it already do so illegally, that we are not enforcing the law and that we are advocating a policy that is hypocritical and not justified by our own actions.

If such a policy is repulsive to those who are making the laws, then we must be consistent and enforce the law as it stands. If this alternative is embraced, it will only end in further disenchantment of our young people and turn a majority of them into criminals. The long-term results of such a policy are neither positive or propitious.

It is encouraging to see that in some areas of the country the issue of re-vamping our marijuana laws is beginning to be approached with more honesty than in the past. In Oregon a law was recently passed by the legislature and signed by the governor which makes possession of one ounce or less of marijuana for personal use a violation (similar to a parking ticket) rather than a criminal offense. This is the same law that was defeated by the Massachusetts General Court earlier this year. In Texas, a state which a few years ago gave 18 individuals life sentences for the possession of marijuana, the penalty has been reduced to six months. The American Bar Association was the latest of many groups to recommend the decriminalization of marijuana.

Slowly, attitudes toward marijuana are adjusting to the reality and so, hopefully, will the laws. Let us hope this adjustment is not too slow because our present laws are "turning people off." Unfortunately, these people are young and are the ones we are looking toward to give us strength in the future. ■

The Need for Economic Impact Statements

by *Richard W. Rabn*

Should economists and legislators who determine economic policy be held accountable for the results of their policies? Traditionally, economics has been viewed as such a mystical science that it seemed perhaps no more fair to blame the economist for the world's economic situation than it was to blame the preacher for the world's moral situation. In reality, however, the science of economics has now developed to the stage where the effects of most policy changes are reasonably predictable.

The economic problems now facing our country result largely from the implementation of policies whose probable outcome could have been forecast by the policy framers. For instance, our present inflationary cycle began when the Johnson Administration greatly increased both domestic and Vietnam War spending without increasing taxes to pay for the spending. The resulting inflation was predictable.

For the most part, bad economic policy is implemented because both given the anticipated harvest in relation to expected domestic and foreign demand. A careful economic analysis of the deal may not have revealed that the price would eventually rise to \$4 a bushel as it did, but it would certainly have revealed that such a transaction would cause major upward pressures on the price of wheat.

The shortages, the cessation of Administration and congressional economic policy makers feel pressured to respond to the political realities of the short run rather than the long run needs of the nation. Economic policymaking could be substantially improved if each new policy proposal were accompanied by an economic statement of the long run results of such a policy.

If we compare our economic environment to our physical environment, we recognize that induced changes usually have both positive and negative effects. It has become apparent that we cannot continue to alter our physical environment without considering the long run effects of such alterations. The same is true with our economic environment. In order to grow and prosper in a healthy environment, we must adopt policies which have long run beneficial effects rather than short run policies which tend to exacerbate current difficulties over a period of time.

Specifically, it is recommended that, in the case of any new legislative proposal or administrative policy that would have major impact on the economy, the Congress or the Administration be required to append a formal and detailed statement of the expected long run effects of such an action to the proposal.

The Russian wheat deal, the recent price and wage controls, and the recently vetoed minimum wage bill all illustrate the need for such "economic impact statements." The Russian wheat deal is acknowledged by most observers, including Treasury Secretary George Schultz, to have been a colossal blunder. It now appears that when the Department of Agriculture gave its approval to sell one-fourth of the entire U.S. wheat crop to the Soviet Union, not one official in the depart-

ment first evaluated the effect of such an agreement on our existing grain stocks, let alone the price of wheat production of marginally profitable products (e.g. lower priced grades of paper), the rise of black markets, and the ballooning of prices when the controls were lifted. All were easily predictable results of the recent price freeze. If the Administration had been required to produce an "economic impact statement" describing the negative aspects of the freeze, there probably would have been a far more healthy opposition to the freeze. Perhaps then it would not have been allowed or at least would have been shortened. It is unlikely that prices for the American consumer are now any lower as a result of the freeze, and he has been forced to accept artificially created shortages.

Minimum wage legislation provides a prime example of the need for an "economic impact statement." Those advocating an increase in the minimum wage from \$1.60 to \$2.20 an hour have provided a rather persuasive emotional case for raising the living standards of millions of impoverished workers, particularly in these inflationary times. A generation's experience with minimum wages has shown that they are not the panacea for poverty that they would appear to be.

We know that no rational employer is going to pay an employee \$2.20 an hour when he only produced \$2.00 per hour's worth of product. In reality, many low wage workers will not have their wages increased, but will be fired. Even the distinguished economist Paul Samuelson (a notorious non-conservative) has said: "*Minimum wage rates*. These often hurt those they are designed to help. What good does it do a black youth to know that an employer must pay him \$2.00 per hour if the fact that he must be paid that amount is what keeps him from getting a job."¹

Kosters and Welch found in their highly regarded study of the minimum wage that: "Minimum wage legislation has had the effect of decreasing the share of normal employment and increasing vulnerability to cyclical changes in employment for the group most 'marginal' to the work force — teenagers. Thus, as a result of increased minimum wages, teen-

agers are able to obtain fewer jobs during periods of normal employment growth and their jobs are less secure in the face of short-term employment changes . . . A disproportionate share of these unfavorable employment effects appears to have accrued to non-white teenagers. The primary beneficiaries of the shifts in the pattern of employment shares occasioned by minimum wage increases were adults, and among adults, particularly white males."² The President's proposal to have a lower minimum wage might have received far more favorable treatment in Congress if the opposition had been required to show that their proposals to increase the wage for all workers to \$2.20 an hour would *in all likelihood* substantially increase the rate of teenage unemployment — particularly among black teenagers.

This proposal for required "economic impact studies" is predicated on the notion that the long run effects of our actions are at least as important as the short run results, and that economic forecasting has developed to the point where it is at least as much of a science as it is an art.

Economic policy makers ought to be as accountable to the public for their actions as are other professionals. As John Kenneth Galbraith recently said: "Then there is the remarkable non-accountability of economists — something of which, as an economist, I am very reluctant to complain. A surgeon, in a general way, is held accountable for results. If, delving for a brain tumor, he gets a prostate, he is open to criticism. Even lawyers are held to certain standards of performance; John Mitchell is in trouble for changing sides on the matter of crime. But not economists. No matter how great the disaster, we are still revered."³

It is hoped that the requirement of an "economic impact statement" by economists and other public practitioners of the economic sciences will help bring closer the day when economists are revered for a reason. ■

FOOTNOTES

1. Paul A. Samuelson, *Economics*, 9th Edition, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York 1973 pp. 393-394.
2. Marvin Koters and Finis Welch, "The Effects of Minimum Wage on the Distribution of Changes in Aggregate Employment," *The American Economic Review*, (June 1972) p. 330.
2. Economic Policy is so Bad," *New York*.
2. John Kenneth Galbraith, "Why the Nixon (September 3, 1973) p. 29.

Editorial Board COMMENTARY

The Hatfield Manifesto: Is it the Progressive Republican Answer?

Sen. Mark O. Hatfield's reform "program of decentralization and constitutionalism" is important. It is important because the senator's proposals are offered as a response to well-documented public cynicism — exacerbated but not originated by Watergate — that the people's views and ideals are irrelevant to the decisions of the government and other large institutions. It is important because Sen. Hatfield is attempting to translate a political philosophy that is both progressive and Republican into a specific agenda for reform. And, it is important because Sen. Hatfield has long been an outspoken leader of public opinion.

Hatfield defines the nation's problem as "public disenchantment with our political process and several of society's major institutions," and the cause as "the massive concentration of power — governmental, political and economic." His theme is simple and direct: decentralize political and economic power. So are his five specific proposals:

1. A constitutional amendment requiring separate election of the President, Vice President and various heads of cabinet de-

partments (Natural Resources, Human Resources, Community Development and Economic Affairs).

2. A significant reduction of the federal work force, accompanied by a drastic revision of civil service legislation.
3. A program to encourage the development of neighborhood-based governmental institutions.
4. A national program to expand the ownership of private property and decentralize the American economy.
5. A fundamentally new approach to simplify and reform our tax structure, insuring tax equity and fairness.

Certainly, these five actions would significantly diffuse concentration of power. In fact, the senator's reform program is so excessive a response to institutional aggregation of power, which is not to say that the problem does not exist, that, if it could be successfully implemented today, it would soon give birth to a new "reform" movement whose aim would be to re-concentrate power.

Hatfield's second proposal, for example, addresses the inadequacies and rigidities of the existing civil service system. Yet, do we forget that the nation's civil service laws were enacted as the result of a major "reform" drive nearly a century ago? Now it is the product of that earlier reform movement to limit political patronage which is recognized to be in need of reform.

Those who seek to improve the functioning of the government cannot ignore the historical rationale — however inadequate it may seem — that lies behind the existing system. Certainly, the civil service laws have affected the way civil servants work — as the senator asserts, "One of the rarest events in Washington is the firing of a civil servant for slothfulness" — but as we search for a system that encourages "creativity and responsiveness," we should recognize that the administrative "flexibility" necessary to reward creativity can easily become another concentration of power; discretion can also be exercised to provide patronage or to establish control.

Behind Hatfield's proposal to revise the civil service, to reduce the size of

the federal work force, and to encourage the establishment of neighborhood governmental institutions is the belief that the large federal bureaucracy is not performing well. This is a traditional Republican theme and one that finds wide acceptance within the public today. Yet, it is too simplistic to provide a useful guideline for governmental structure.

Bureaucracies have indeed been performing poorly of late, but this is because they have been asked to perform tasks for which they are simply not suited. Aaron Wildavsky, dean of the Graduate School of Public Policy at Berkeley, writes in the August issue of *Commentary*, "Governmental performance depends not only on the ability to solve problems but on selecting problems government knows how to solve." To paraphrase Wildavsky, bureaucratic performance depends not only on the ability to solve problems but on selecting problems bureaucracies know how to solve.

Bureaucracies can perform well administering a complex governmental program, provided the entire program can be defined by a specific set of instructions. People may be unhappy with the federal income tax or with the Social Security system, but it is not because the bureaucracy administers the programs badly. Unhappiness with either of these two programs results from the instructions Congress gave the bureaucracy for administering the program.

When, however, a bureaucracy is asked to administer a program in which there is substantial bureaucratic discretion, the bureaucracy usually performs badly in the public's eye. The bureaucrat's exercise of this discretion, which is necessary since Congress has provided only vague guidelines, can easily be interpreted as favoritism, political bias, or incompetence by those who would exercise the discretion dif-

ferently. This is why the welfare and civil rights bureaucracies have come under such assault. They have not been given instructions to specify their response for all administrative situations, but rather only the general goal of abolishing social evils. In attempting to perform that task, they have no alternative but to exercise discretion.

In *The End of Liberalism*, an essential book for anyone who seeks to understand governmental failures, Theodore J. Lowi explains how the Congressional liberals' delegation of authority to the bureaucracy permits interest group bargaining in the executive branch's decision-making process. "Broad discretion makes a politician out of a bureaucrat," writes Lowi, and the failure to set clear legislative standards makes meaningful evaluation of public policies impossible.

Progressive Republicans have two important philosophical goals: 1) to ensure broad public participation in political decisions and in the implementation of public policy, and 2) to ensure equity of treatment for all citizens. Sometimes one objective dominates a public policy problem, sometimes the other. In such situations, the policy decision is simplified. Few would argue, for example, that public participation is more important than equity in either the federal income tax or the Social Security programs; universal equity is clearly the overriding goal and thus little consideration has ever been given to decentralizing these programs. On the other hand, local citizen participation is considered to be extremely important in public safety or police programs — if only to prevent the establishment of a national police state — and thus public safety is a governmental function that is decentralized.

Frequently, however, these two goals are both perceived to be important. Although it would be convenient if

we could pursue both objectives simultaneously with a single program, that is often impossible. In this instance, the problem of devising the appropriate public policy becomes most difficult, and it is important to recognize the existence of the two competing goals.

Sen. Hatfield has advocated decentralizing the nation's welfare programs and implicit in this proposal is an acceptance that public participation in public welfare decisions is more important than universal equity. Yet, is not a major critique of the existing system the fact that it treats different individuals differently? Our welfare programs differ from state to state. The local social worker is delegated much of the responsibility for deciding how much assistance a family will receive. Little wonder the system is denounced for its failures; what is an abuse of discretion to one is a responsible act to another, and reading the federal legislation will not tell you whose interpretation is correct.

For those progressive Republicans who believe that universal equity is a much more important welfare objective than local participation, the ideal program is the negative income tax. (See the Ripon FORUM, April, 1967.) With a negative income tax, the financial assistance a family receives would be strictly determined by the number of adults and children in the family's earned income. The welfare checks would be processed on the basis of a very few, simple rules, with no individual discretion permitted and thus universal equity guaranteed. The federal bureaucracy is really quite good at writing checks.

Admittedly, this is a bureaucratic solution, but it does have some advantages with respect to decentralization of power. Since the bureaucracy has little discretion, it has little power that Congress has not explicitly given to it. At the same time, the individual welfare recipient, not the government's social worker, will decide how the money is to be spent. Meanwhile, local institutions are freed to provide social services where the trained judgment of the social worker is needed to help solve individual problems.

Thus, to progressive Republicans, the question is not whether or not we should shift to decentralized institu-

At the Tenth Anniversary Dinner of the Ripon Society in Boston last December, Sen. Mark O. Hatfield spoke out against "Presidential government" and advocated the "decentralization of power." His remarks were reprinted in the January, 1973 issue of FORUM, and his executive assistant, Wes Michaelson, discussed them further at the Society's National Governing Board meeting last April. Then, on August 26, 1973, Sen. Hatfield published a more detailed reform program, "Beyond Watergate: Five Ways to Rebuild Confidence," in The Washington Post's Outlook section.

tions, but what social functions should be decentralized. For example, many progressive Republicans believe in participation — particularly parental participation — in both policy making and administration of elementary and secondary education. Thus, many progressive Republicans — and conservative Republicans, too — advocate a voucher system for education. A student's parents would be given a voucher for a specific value which they would use to pay for their child's education at any school, public or private. This would encourage a diversity of school systems in response to the diversity of educational objectives and philosophies of the parents.

This decentralized and participatory system of education has an obvious liability; the voucher system could become nothing more than a sophisticated "freedom of choice" system. Is equity to be sacrificed for decentralization?

The Republican Party has a long, historical commitment to civil rights — although today some Republicans find it convenient to forget that the GOP is the party of Abraham Lincoln, not of John C. Calhoun. Progressive Republicans have a special obligation to ensure that the policies we advocate in the name of participatory decentralization do not also perpetuate inequality of educational opportunity. Thus, progressive Republicans may advocate a voucher system for education, but they also want the program governed by some safeguards. Simple, clear, congressionally-established rules for determining which schools would be eligible for the voucher program would be administered by a bureaucracy and would prevent racial discrimination.

Progressive Republicans recognize a diversity of goals, a diversity of philosophical preferences, and a diversity of programmatic formulas. On any given issue they recognize that conflicts may force them to rank and choose from among these goals, philosophies and programs. The fact that they have not pursued a rigid ideological line, without recognizing the implications of their proposals — a practice that means they occasionally agree with liberal Democrats and occasionally with conservative Republicans — has caused the press to call them "mod-

erates." The label clearly implies that Republican progressives do not advocate a policy without examining the reality as well as the theory of their position.

This limited, undogmatic approach to government leaves progressive Republicans open to the charge, particularly during campaigns against liberal Democrats, that they are unwilling to make a true commitment to solve America's problems. It is not that progressive Republicans are uncommitted, but that they possess a healthy skepticism about how much government can do alone. They hold that a number of society's objectives would best be pursued by the private sector. Unfortunately, in a *laissez faire* economy, the private sector has little or no incentive to undertake many of the chores that society desires. Thus, the need for the government to provide incentives to the private sector, and here the most useful mechanism is the federal income tax structure.

Sen. Hatfield, however, recommends elimination of all deductions from the federal personal income tax laws. It is clear that the public is unhappy with the tax system — because it is perceived to be inequitable, and because it is — although there probably has never been a political epoch when the public was not on the verge of some tax revolt or another. The fact is, that while the system of tax deductions produces inequities, it also provides incentives for private actions that the government has determined are desirable. The system of deductions may not achieve its purpose, or we may disagree with the objective, but tax incentives are still society's principal method for encouraging private action for the commonwealth.

Sen. Hatfield has proposed changes in the *corporate* income tax laws to encourage "the deconglomeration of the American economy." Yet, is it not part of the tax revolt that the electorate reads about major corporations (as well as wealthy citizens) escaping the payment of any tax through the system of deductions? Of course, we do not know what "basic changes in our tax structure" Sen. Hatfield is recommending and perhaps if he is successful in decentralizing the economy, any corporation that is successfully able to use the new system of deductions

to avoid any tax will be too small to generate any public outcry.

Although the Senator believes in using the federal tax laws to accomplish his *one* objective, he would deny its use by others for similar objectives. Might not many of these objectives be worthwhile and important, and might not the elimination of the system of personal deductions have some unwanted effects? An examination of what is *accomplished* through the existing personal income tax is essential before we decide to discard all deductions.

The difficulty with Sen. Hatfield's program for decentralizing power is that he often ignores the implications of his decentralization program. In his speech to the Ripon Society, the senator worried that a "constitutional imbalance" would permit the President "to neglect the severity of water pollution" and advocated that: "Towns should give their citizens the option of choosing whether industries that would cause pollution, or manufacture unwanted products, should be allowed to reside here." Yet, pollution is not a municipal problem as the senator's concern for presidential action indicates. Are we to permit the citizens of Pittsburgh to determine how polluted the Ohio River will be, or the voters of Detroit and Dearborn to determine how many pollutants automobiles will be allowed to emit?

Hatfield longs to return the American economy to the Jeffersonian nation of small farms and cottage industries. This is indeed idyllic, but hardly practical. Broadening the ownership base of American industry will help eliminate the vast disparities in income; small farms and businesses, and worker participation in management will give more citizens a feeling that they have some control over their lives. Such actions will not "provide safeguards against governmental tyranny," however.

Another example of the senator's complacency about the implications of his decentralization program is his suggestion to hold independent elections for President, Vice President and the heads of the departments of Natural Resources, Human Resources, Community Development and Economic Affairs. The proposal is based on the assumption that within the executive

branch less coordination is needed for domestic affairs than is needed for foreign and defense policy. The American post-industrial economy is so

complex and interdependent, however, that seemingly insignificant decisions designed to handle one specific public policy problem generate reactions

throughout the system; witness the impact of the most recent price freeze.

Sen. Hatfield is right — separate elections "would unquestionably re-

The Hatfield Manifesto

The Watergate scandal is climaxing a steady development of public disenchantment with our political process and several of society's major institutions.

This disillusionment is not simply being personalized in the President. In the eyes of most Americans, he and many of his former associates are guilty primarily of proving to be like most all politicians. That is why the widespread public assumption of Mr. Nixon's guilt has not resulted in any broadly based or popular movement for his impeachment. Fundamentally, people have not simply lost their confidence in a leader; they have lost their faith in the institutions of public leadership.

People perceive the linkage between the credibility of our political system and other major social and economic institutions in our society. Take one simple example: The personal attorney of the President served also as the attorney for a major airline, and then solicited funds for the President's re-election from a competitive airline, in clear violation of U.S. law prohibiting corporate contributions.

Such incestuous relationships between government and business confirm that corruption in politics breeds corruption in other realms of society, and vice versa. The individual American correctly perceives that government leaders, federal bureaucracies, labor unions, corporations and other forces have almost routinely violated the public trust and are swallowing freedoms that should be the province of individuals.

In very large measure, such corruption has been the direct result of the massive concentrations of power — governmental, political and economic. Neither of the major political parties, nor the administration nor its critics, has offered any significant ways to arrest the growth of the excessive concentrations of power which inevitably erode individual liberty and the people's confidence in society's institutions.

The Democrats who have belatedly recognized the dangers of excessive presidential power are still blind to the threat of all-pervasive governmental bureaucracy. The "New Politics" Democrats frequently seem to be calling not for fundamental institutional change, but merely for the elevation of a compassionate, enlightened person to an all-powerful presidency. The traditional Democrats, still infatuated with categorical grant programs and alphabet soup agencies, seem to feel that New Deal, Fair Deal, New Frontier and Great Society programs are somewhat akin to the Ten Commandments. In the name of defending the rights of the "little man," many would gladly erect another bureaucratic mechanism to ensnare him.

Many conservative Republicans, unlike their predecessors such as Sen. Robert A. Taft, Sr., have willing-

ly assented to accretions in presidential power and the growth of governmental powers as long as these are done in the name of national security or the maintenance of the social order. Most conservative Republican politicians have hardly lifted a hand to slow the growth of a business-labor-government combine.

President Nixon has in a number of speeches declared war on the federal bureaucracy. Yet the primary thrust of this federal policy is not to reduce bureaucratic interference with the lives of individuals, but rather to increase the control by the President and White House staff over the federal bureaucracy. Short of a total conversion in its view of presidential powers, the Administration will be unable to take credible initiatives to reverse the concentration of power in society, or to deal with the public distrust of its government.

The progressive Republicans, the group with which I am most identified, also have failed to cope effectively with the continuing diminution of individual liberties and public confidence. Republican progressives have attempted to combine more effective management of government with a series of policies on specific issues. Yet these responses to broken-down Democratic initiatives, or even to the excesses of a Republican administration, have generally been of an ad hoc nature and have thus failed to rally significant support for an on-going political coalition.

If America is to resist the forces that are nibbling away at our individual freedom, a dynamic political movement must arise to limit the powers of big government, big labor and big business. It must be a movement committed to reshaping and decentralizing the institutions of power in society. This will necessitate concrete and drastic initiatives designed to fundamentally restructure elements of our political and economic life. The only way to restore the people's trust in the institutions of power is to break open new avenues for the people to participate directly in those institutions and remold them according to their needs. A wide array of conservatives, liberals and moderates (if those labels mean anything) of all kinds of party affiliations can be enlisted in such an effort.

This program of decentralization and constitutionalism would move decisively to limit the powers of the presidency, to replace bureaucratic government — federal, state or local — with "neighborhood government," to restore an economic environment that encourages small entrepreneurship and insures corporate competition and accountability, and to assure the privacy and autonomy of the individual American.

Excerpted by permission from "Beyond Watergate: Five Ways to Rebuild Confidence," by Sen. Mark O. Hatfield, *Washington Post*, August 26, 1973.

duce the raw power of the presidency." But one should question and debate whether the "tension" generated within the executive branch would be "creative" or not. Further, the "raw power" of the President has not come through the expansion of the executive branch; the bureaucracy has certainly increased its power, though Presidents Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon have not agreed with Hatfield's statement that the bureaucracies have "augmented" presidential power. Rather, as Francis E. Rourke wrote in *Bureaucracy and Foreign Policy*, "The slowness with which bureaucratic organizations respond to presidential desires for action is legendary and a constant source of exasperation for chief executives." In the last decade, in an effort to circumvent the bureaucracy, chief executives have expanded the Office of the President and the result has been what Rourke calls "government by the palace guard." Still, no matter how central they are to the government, those who work in the Office of the President are neither confirmed by Congress nor required to appear before congressional committees.

The Constitution established a system of checks and balances for the purpose of limiting power — particularly presidential power. It would appear appropriate to employ this tool. One can sympathize with Hatfield's decision to offer decentralization of the executive branch as the cure for presidential power, and a decentralized economy to curb "officials bureaucrats." But the proposals are symbolic of the Congress's failure to exercise its constitutional mandate and responsibility. With both houses controlled by the Democrats since 1954, Congress has been unable, for example, to develop legislative procedures to enable it to control the federal budget, and Sen. Hatfield is left to hope that decentralization of the executive branch would "return Congress to a role in the budget-making process much closer to that conceived by the founding fathers." Despite the recent popular interest in congressional prerogatives and reorganizations, House Speaker Carl Albert's major legislative concern during this session has been to expand the west front of the Capitol to provide his constituency — the U.S. Representatives — with more office space.

Little wonder then that those looking to limit presidential powers must resort to *ad hoc* solutions such as separate elections for cabinet officers.

The traditional process for selecting vice presidential candidates could hardly be called perspicacious. Yet, what can the nation expect when it requires a presidential nominee, in the euphoric hours that climax years of work and worry, to stay up all night to select someone to be "a heart beat away." A better solution would be to allow two weeks for the selection of a running mate. After consultations with all segments of the party, and a thorough examination of the backgrounds of all possible candidates, the nominee's choice could be submitted to the party's national committee, where it would be subject to a veto by a two-thirds vote.

The ticket would still be chosen to project the proper "balance," and would infrequently include "the party's ablest candidate to succeed to the presidency" as Hatfield desires. Yet, at the state level, to draw on Hatfield's own analogy, when a party must nominate candidates for several, independently elected, state-wide offices, it still makes an effort, at its state conventions, to "balance the ticket." No process will eliminate ticket balancing nor ensure that, once elected, the Vice President will be given more administrative responsibilities, or be consulted on more policy questions. But at least we would not be asking the most tired man in the nation to make the selection.

After this critique, how can I still argue that the Hatfield Manifesto is important, that it demands public attention, particularly Republican attention, and that it should be the focus of much political discussion? The answer lies in the absence of meaningful debate within the Republican Party during the last 40 years. Two decades ago, Samuel Lubell observed:

Our political solar system . . . has been characterized not by two equally competing suns, but by a sun and a moon. It is within the majority party that the issues of any particular period are fought out; while the minority party shines in the reflected radiance of the heat thus generated.

The essential strength or weak-

ness of an American political party is not to be measured simply by the votes it commands, but by the timeliness of the elements which compose the party's following.

Within the Ripon Society this is known as Lubell's "Sun & Moon Theory of Politics." We have all too well recognized that for four decades the GOP has been the obscure satellite.

During the 1960's, our position as the political moon was maintained by adherence to the Eleventh Commandment: "Thou Shalt Not Speak Ill of Any Other Republican." This ensured that no relevant political debate ever occurred during a Republican primary or at a Republican meeting. In the last four years, debate has been stifled by a Republican President who sought no advice from Republican counsels, who proclaimed his views to be the only acceptable Republican positions, and who dispatched his staff to crush dissent when it came from the Republican Right over China and Family Assistance, and, more aggressively, when it came from Republican progressives over Civil Rights, Civil Liberties and Vietnam.

Watergate has ended President Nixon's dominance of the Republican Party, and the GOP must now grope its way toward 1976 on its own. In the process, it can choose to continue as a moon, allowing the major policy issues of the day to be fought out and decided within the Democratic Party. Or the Republicans can pursue their goal of building a majority party by collecting within their ranks those who are committed to a full debate of the timely political issues. The result will certainly be a lot of heat — heat that will make life uncomfortable for those accustomed to the cool perfection of most Republican gatherings — but heat that also signals to the electorate that the Republican Party is struggling with the nation's problems.

To ignore Sen. Hatfield's ideas is to relegate the GOP to continue in orbit as an irrelevant political moon. But for the Republican Party to discuss and debate, vigorously and without inhibition, Sen. Hatfield's five proposals, could be the beginning of the GOP's rejuvenation as the political sun. ■

1973 Ripon Issues Conference

"BUILDING A PROGRESSIVE GOP IN THE POST-WATERGATE ERA"

November 30 - December 2, 1973

Twin Bridges Marriott Hotel
Washington, D.C.

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

Friday, November 30

- 6:00 - 8:00 p.m. Reception
8:00 - 10:00 p.m. Dinner and Address by Gov. Linwood Holton

Saturday, December 1

- 7:30 - 9:00 a.m. Regional Breakfasts
9:00 - 10:30 a.m. Politics Panel: "State of the Moderates"
11:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m. Issues Panels: see below
1:00 - 2:30 p.m. Lunch and Address: Speaker to be announced
2:30 - 4:30 p.m. Issues Panels: see below
4:30 - 6:00 p.m. Politics Panel: "Power Centers; Party Structure and Reform"
8:00 - 10:00 p.m. Dinner and Address: Speaker to be announced.

Sunday, December 2

- 9:00 a.m. - 12 noon Politics Panel: "How Do Moderates Put It Together?"



ISSUES PANELS

- Preserving Our Liberties in a Technological, Institutionalized, Government-Ridden Age
Speaker: Hope Eastman, American Civil Liberties Union, Washington, D.C.
- Deconcentration and Deregulation of the Economy
Speaker: William G. Shepard, associate professor of economics, University of Michigan
- Humanized Work Environment
Speaker: Edwin Mills, director, Quality of Work Program, National Commission on Productivity, Washington, D.C.
- Rebuilding Cities: Population Redistribution and Development Realities
Speaker: Robert Patricelli, vice president, Greater Hartford Process, Hartford, Connecticut
- Future of Private Property and Its Distribution
Speaker: John McLaughry, president, Institute for Liberty and Community, Concord, Vermont
- Congress and Foreign Policy
Speaker: Alton Frye, fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C.
- Free Market Solutions for the Urban Crisis
Speaker: William G. Colman, consultant, National Urban Coalition, Washington, D.C.
- Education for Free Men and Women
Speaker: Thomas K. Glennan, Jr., director, National Institute of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C.
- Criminal Justice Reform
Speaker: Russell W. Peterson, chairman, National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, Washington, D.C.
- Preserving the Environment
Speaker: Henry Diamond, commissioner, New York State Department of Environmental Conservation, Albany, New York

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POLITICS: PROFILES

CLAY MYERS

PORTLAND — Oregon's Secretary of State Clay Myers (R) is a fifth generation descendent of a pioneer Oregon family.

During Myers' early childhood his family spent several years in colonial Rhodesia and his lingering memories of the conditions there have influenced his long interest in human rights and civil liberties.

He was reared and educated in Oregon, and graduated from the University of Oregon. His career includes 16 years' experience in banking and insurance; he was vice president of the Insurance Company of Oregon when he was appointed assistant secretary of state in 1965.

Much of Myers' early political activity was issue-oriented. In the early 1950's before it became politically popular, he was campaigning for Fair Employment Practices legislation and anti-discrimination laws in housing and trade school admission. In 1951 he helped organize an initiative petition drive to establish regulations for legislative redistricting. Ironically, the initiative resulted in his assumption of the job many years later as secretary of state, when the legislature failed to accomplish the task.

In 1950, Myers co-authored a state Young Republican resolution condemning Sen. Joseph McCarthy — one of the first public condemnations by a Republican group anywhere in the nation. He was active later on the State Welfare Commission, and in adult education, vocational training, planned parenthood, mental retardation and community youth center programs.

Myers entered full-time government service when Tom McCall, an old friend from Young Republican days, was elected secretary of state and asked Myers to be his assistant. When Gov. Mark O. Hatfield ran for the Senate in 1966, McCall sought and won the governorship and appointed Myers to replace him as secretary of state. He made the choice to enter politics full time because he felt he could "do

more to bring about the reforms and changes" in which he believes. Although he expresses "limited regrets" about the demands the office makes on him and his family, his outstanding performance displays his ability to meet those demands.

As Oregon's secretary of state, Myers' primary responsibility is as the state's chief election officer. Along with his predecessors and many progressive legislators, Myers has helped shape Oregon's election system to be what many feel is one of the best in the nation. The Oregon State Elections Division, which Myers heads, publishes and mails to each voter a Voters Pamphlet in which every official candidate as well as proponents and opponents of ballot measures, may purchase space at nominal cost. Oregon also pioneered in pre-election campaign contribution reporting, campaign spending limits, lobbyist reporting, tax credits for small political contributions and equalized, single-member legislative districts. The latter were created by Myers when he reapportioned the state's political districts in 1971. Myers has ably fulfilled his objective of "opening up" the election process.

Myers is optimistic about the future of the Republican Party in Oregon. He feels "voters recognize that the state has been a 'trend setter' with the leadership or progressive Republicans such as Hatfield and Sen. Robert Packwood and Gov. McCall." He believes that Oregon Republicans have been politically successful because of their "unique kind of Republicanism and an independent, problem-solving approach to issues."

The Democratic Party has a statewide registration advantage, but Oregon voters have been traditionally independent in their selections. Progressive Republicans such as Myers and McCall have received good pluralities even in Democratic years but the party lost its slim control of the legislature in 1972 despite Nixon's landslide and Myers' easy re-election. He feels

that part of this success is attributable to "too many Democrats having looked to the federal Government for solutions, while Republicans have worked at the state level to solve problems."

Clay's chances of winning the governorship in 1974 are considered good. Although he has yet to officially announce his plans, he is clearly the most logical candidate. His popularity should discourage any major primary challenge except by a possible a "dark horse" candidate. Clay's campaign practices have differed considerably from some Republicans, but have been tremendously successful. He has avoided large financial contributions and the type of campaign methods which require them, such as television advertising. Myers has also received and accepted the backing of many Democrats and should have substantial bipartisan support again in 1974.

Several Democratic office holders are potential challengers for governor including State Senate President Jason Boe, State Treasurer James Redden and Portland Mayor Neal Goldschmidt. Unless they reach a compromise, Boe and Redden appear to be likely primary contestants with Redden probably the more likely victor. Myers is probably capable of defeating any challenge under present or expected circumstances.

Myers believes that the "greatest challenge for the Republican Party in 1976 will be not to close its eyes to political reality as it did in 1964 and as the Democrats did in 1972." But, as he adds, "selecting the proper candidate is sometimes the toughest decision to make." In past GOP conventions, Myers may have been the only delegate to have twice voted against Agnew's nomination for Vice President.

In the aftermath of Watergate, Myers believes a winning candidate must be totally "clean" and able to present the "full picture" of himself to public scrutiny. "The old political types such as John Connally or Mayor Daley are out" and in their place, Myers thinks, will emerge candidates who will be able to "appeal on a bipartisan basis" and show through logical, business-like solutions to social problems that "you don't have to be a revolutionary to be a reformer." ■

POLITICS: REPORTS

MAINE

AUGUSTA — Maine's Republican Party was torn in early September by what one party leader called "Watergate North."

A memorandum written by GOP Executive Secretary Alexander Ray was leaked to the press. The memo purported to analyze the gubernatorial campaign operation of State Sen. Harrison Richardson (R). Numerous party leaders were incensed by the memo and charged that Ray was "tilting" towards James Erwin, the unsuccessful 1970 gubernatorial nominee who has yet to announce his intentions in next year's race.

Ray explained his action by saying that he was trying to identify a leak in his office and had planted the memo on his desk to catch the leaker. The culprit reportedly was Ray's assistant.

The issue came to a head at a meeting of the Maine Republican State Committee September 8. By a vote of 27-23, a move to oust Ray from his post was rejected. Party Chairman Harold Jones interpreted the controversy as a threat to his leadership. "The real question here is not Alex Ray. It is the leadership of this party by Harold Jones." Jones, who was backed by former Chairman Charles Morsehead who had brought Rhode Island native Ray to the state, easily won a vote of confidence, 47-3.

Leaders in the move to remove Ray reportedly included staff members for U.S. Rep. Bill Cohen, himself a gubernatorial possibility, and Richardson. The motion stating that "the interests of the party would best be served" by Ray's removal was introduced by Auburn Mayor Jack Linell. He was backed by Senate president Kenneth P. MacLeod who indicated that the state committee vote would not be an order but an expression of sentiment.

The opposition to Ray on the state committee was reportedly widespread among supporters of possible gubernatorial candidates ranging from Cohen to Erwin himself.

Anti-Ray forces were annoyed for several reasons: 1) They felt they had

a majority going into the meeting; 2) The issue of Ray's competence and neutrality was clouded by Jones' efforts to transform the issue into a vote of confidence; and 3) They felt that efforts to unite the party through the neutrality of the state GOP headquarters had been sabotaged by the failure to oust Ray.

As one GOP worker said, "It's really too bad, because starting last January we were beginning to make progress in uniting the party." Now, he predicted, the factionalizing and disunity, which has plagued the party for a decade, will continue. ■

IOWA

DES MOINES — The announcement of Sen. Harold Hughes (D) that he will not seek re-election in order to devote himself to religious work, has prompted an upsurge in political speculation in Iowa.

The key to much of the conjecture is Gov. Robert Ray (R), who has yet to decide whether to seek the governorship again next year or switch to the Senate. Among the Democrats with an announced interest in the Senate, for example, is Assistant Attorney General Roxanne Conlin. She was quoted by newsmen as saying she might run if Gov. Ray did not. Said Conlin: "I'm a Democrat but I'm not a dumb Democrat." Ray undoubtedly would be the favorite if he chose to run.

Other Democrats with expressed interest are State Sen. Minnette Doderer of Iowa City and U.S. Rep. John C. Culver, who declined to run for the Senate last year when he decided the odds were too unfavorable. Culver's administrative assistant, Dick Clark, ran instead and defeated Sen. Jack Miller (R). Culver's public announcement has reportedly irritated U.S. Rep. Neal Smith, since it was made without prior consultation. Nevertheless, Smith will probably remain in the House.

U.S. Rep. William J. Scherle (R) has recently declared some measure of peace with Gov. Ray and might seek the governorship if Ray vacated it. Two

Republicans have indicated they will seek the Senate nomination but drop out of the race if Ray runs. The two are both moderates: State Sen. George F. Milligan and State Rep. David Stanley. Stanley was narrowly defeated by Hughes for the Senate in 1968. Less likely aspirants are Veterans Administrator Donald Johnson and former Lieutenant Gov. Roger Jepsen. ■

SOUTH DAKOTA

PIERRE — The South Dakota Republican State Central Committee elected Sioux Falls real estate businessman William Lenker to succeed D. Jack Gibson as Republican national committeeman at a meeting here September 8.

Gibson, who had been strongly identified with Vice President Spiro Agnew, resigned to devote more time to his business. His successor, who has had considerable experience in county level politics, won election on the third ballot of a four-way contest. He defeated retired Irene businessman Dexter Gunderson, Britton rancher Don Jarrett, and Madison real estate businessman Tom Felker. The meeting, which was attended by over 75 percent of the committee's 200 members, was described as one of the best-attended in recent years. Some party observers saw it as one sign in recent GOP rejuvenation under the leadership of GOP State Chairman E. Steeves Smith.

Next year's gubernatorial situation on the Democratic side continues to be confused. There is speculation that Gov. Richard Kneip (D) might run as an independent if state law bars him from seeking the governorship for a third time as a Democrat. Sen. George McGovern (D) reportedly desperately would like Kneip on the ballot — either as a Democrat or an independent — in order to aid his own race. Two Democrats reportedly interested in the outcome of Kneip's current court battle are State Sen. Harvey Wollman and Rapid City Mayor Joe Barnett. The latter is considered a possible candidate for lieutenant governor on an independent ticket with Kneip — while Lieutenant Gov. William Dougherty seeks the governorship as a Democrat. ■

POLITICS: PEOPLE

● Vermont Gov. **Thomas P. Salmon** (D) has been having his troubles with labor. Salmon won last year's gubernatorial election with the help of labor after he promised to end a strike of construction workers in Burlington. Despite Salmon's efforts, however, the bitter conflict remains unsolved 15 months later. When one of the construction firms involved in the dispute was awarded a state contract to build a regional correctional center in South Burlington, labor officials began to grumble and the Democratic State Committee passed a resolution asking the governor to reconsider the contract award. Salmon has refused, arguing that the contract award system is apolitical. Meanwhile, a top Salmon aide has indicated that the governor will seek re-election rather than a Senate seat next year. A new name under consideration for the Republican nomination to oppose Salmon is Superior Judge **Franklin S. Billings**, a former Vermont House speaker.

● Syndicated columnists **Rowland Evans** and **Robert Novak** report that Alabama Gov. **George Wallace** is so strong that Alabama GOP State Chairman **Richard Bennett** is convinced the GOP should not challenge his re-election next year. They also report that Wallace's 1970 Democratic primary opponent, former Gov. **Albert Brewer**, is similarly discouraged about next year's race."

● Three Republicans under consideration for the 1974 South Carolina gubernatorial race have reportedly withdrawn their names from consideration: former GOP candidate for lieutenant governor **James Henderson**; former GOP Senate candidate and editor **William D. Workman, Jr.**; and former Army Chief of Staff **William C. Westmoreland**. Another possible candidate, Commerce Secretary **Frederick B. Dent**, is also reportedly unenthusiastic. That leaves State Sen. **James B. Edwards**, State Rep. **C. Marshall Cain** and Richland County Council Chairman **Warren Giese** still available

for gubernatorial combat. With U.S. Rep. **W.J. Bryan Dorn** (D) expected to run for governor, Cain may seek his vacant seat.

● **Nick Smith**, the North Carolina GOP's unsuccessful candidate for attorney general last year, has decided against making a congressional run next year. The 35-year-old Smith was recently appointed to a post in the state Department of Transportation by Republican Gov. **James Holshouser**.

● With Ambassador **Daniel P. Moynihan** back in Washington to advise on the Administration's housing program, there was speculation at the White House that the President would reaffirm his commitment to the controversial Family Assistance Plan. But while the newspapers carried speculation about a top State Department post for Moynihan, the public recommitment to FAP was scrapped at the White House — reportedly at a level just below the President.

● Seattle's Republican City Council president, **Liem Eng Tuai**, took a commanding lead as the frontrunner in the nonpartisan primary for Seattle mayor. Tuai had 44 percent of the vote in a six-man field; the Republican conservative will now face the Democratic incumbent, Mayor **Wes Uhlman**, in November. Uhlman had 31 percent of the vote. The liberal protest vote for Republican Councilman **Tim Hill** may go to Uhlman in the general election.

● Maryland's Republican State Central Committee met on September 22 and elected a new slate of officers. A long-standing ideological crevice dividing the party developed into a walkout by 50 of the more conservative members of the committee, including Baltimore surgeon Dr. **Ross Pierpont**. After the walkout, outgoing Chairman **Alexander "Sandy" Lankler** and the remaining members elected State Sen. **Edward Thomas** of Frederick, a moderate, to succeed Lankler. The conservatives are threatening a lawsuit because an entire new slate of officers was elected rather than simply a successor of Lankler.

● Both Ohio Republicans and Democrats had uncertain candidates for the Senate in September. Sen.

Rule 29 Committee

The Rule 29 committee of the Republican National Committee, chaired by U.S. Rep. William Steiger, met in Washington during the RNC's mid-September meeting. In its first assembly, the committee established its ground rules, set a report target date of June 1974, and established five subcommittees to ease its workload. In a surprise move, the committee voted to have all meetings open to the public and not to construe any language as requiring a quota system.

Subcommittee One, co-chaired by U.S. Rep. Edward J. Derwinski (Ill.) and former presidential counselor Bob Brown, deals with the prologue to the rules and the controversial rule 32a. During the first subcommittee meeting, U.S. Rep. Derwinski indicated that he did not wish to handle 32a, which is concerned with broadening the party's base among minority groups.

Subcommittee Two involves proceedings of the convention, Rules 1 to 18. It is cochaired by Paula Hawkins, national committeewoman from Florida and

political ally of 1972 convention rules chairman William C. Cramer, and John H. Haugh, national committeeman from Arizona. It is possible the subcommittee may take up selection of the vice president.

Subcommittee Three deals with Rules 19-29 and the Republican National Committee. It is co-chaired by Cynthia Newman, the able and savvy national committeewoman from Virginia and William F. McLaughlin, Michigan Republican state chairman.

The smallest group, Subcommittee Four, is chaired by former Republican National Chairman Ray Bliss. It is probably the most important subcommittee and deals with the delegate selection process.

Subcommittee Five, dealing with local and state organization almost self-destructed in its first meeting. At the urging of YAF board member Dr. Donald Devine, a Maryland professor and longtime YR Syndicate member, some members tried to manipulate the committee out of existence. The group is co-chaired by New York State GOP Chairman Richard Rosenbaum and Idaho State GOP Chairwoman Marjorie Minor.

William B. Saxbe indicated he would announce his political future in mid-October. Saxbe said in a September 6 news conference that he wouldn't seek the governorship and was waiting to announce his plans for next year's Senate race in deference to state GOP leaders. Meanwhile, former Astronaut **John H. Glenn** demonstrated a good deal less political circumspection about his fellow Democrats. Glenn charged that Gov. **John J. Gilligan** had "backstabbed me" for refusing to drop plans to seek Saxbe's Senate seat in exchange for the lieutenant governor's spot on Gilligan's ticket next year. Glenn is a wealthy businessman, but his wealth in no way compares to that of **Howard M. Metzenbaum**, the millionaire who appears to have the blessing of the Buckeye Democratic establishment. Democratic leaders are apparently afraid of a rerun of the bitter 1970 Senate primary between the two men. Glenn has said he has no interest in running for lieutenant governor; his decision to seek the Senate will apparently be based on the availability of cash for his campaign. Metzenbaum has already announced.

● California Lieutenant Gov. **Ed Reinecke** finally got a little tired of being the only announced Republican candidate for governor next year. "The other possible candidates should quit trying to kid the people and make their positions known so that the California Republican party can get on with its business," said Reinecke to newsmen at the September California GOP convention. Controller **Houston I. Flournoy** announced his candidacy later in the month. Attorney General **Evelle J. Younger** is expected to announce late this year. Former HEW Secretary **Robert H. Finch** won't choose between the Senate and the governorship until after this November's elections. Finch wants to see if public response to Gov. **Ronald Reagan's** tax reform initiative will propel the governor to a third term or the White House. Former Treasury Secretary **John B. Connally** got a warm welcome at the convention despite assertions by GOP State Chairman **Gordon Luce** that the hearts of California Republicans belong to Ronald Reagan in 1976.

● New York conservatives seem to be resigned to renomination of Sen. **Jacob Javits** (R-N.Y.) next year. Two possible challengers, U.S. Rep. **Jack F. Kemp** and State Sen. **John J. Marchi** (currently the GOP's New York City mayoralty candidate), now seem unlikely to contest Javits in a primary. A less serious effort to unseat Javits, however, may come from a weaker candidate like State Sen. **Richard E. Schermerhorn** (R) of Cornwall-on-the-Hudson.

● California Republicans may finally have found a candidate willing to take on Sen. **Alan Cranston**: State Health and Welfare Director **Earl Brian, Jr.** The 31-year-old doctor said recently: "I would base a decision (on running) on three factors: financing, strong volunteer support and belief that Cranston can be beaten." Also set to seek the GOP nod is State Sen. **H.L. Richardson**, a former John Birch Society staffer. San Diego Mayor **Pete Wilson** (R) is also considering making the Senate race.

● Republicans in Minnesota are searching for a successor to U.S. Rep. **John M. Zwach** (6th C.D.) who has announced his intention to retire at the end of his current term. Two GOP possibilities are for the seat are the Rev. **Phil Hansen**, who ran unsuccessfully last year against Sen. **Walter Mondale** (D), and former State Sen. **Keith Hughes**. Neither man has yet indicated any interest in the race. Meanwhile, **John Grunseth**,

the 27-year-old GOP field man in the district, seem to be moving quickly toward pre-empting the field. The Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party already has five possible candidates: Former DFL State Chairman **Richard Nolan**, who lost to Zwach in 1972; former U.S. Rep. **Alec Olson**, who was defeated by Zwach in 1966 and is now president pro tempore of the State Senate; St. Cloud Mayor **Al Loehr**; St. Cloud College administrator **Terry Montgomery** who lost to Zwach in 1970; and another former congressman, **Eugene McCarthy**, currently employed as a book editor.

● Presidential Counselor **Anne Armstrong** has turned into far more than the White House's token woman. Armstrong is now included in the White House's "Big Six" advisors (including **Alexander Haig**, **Melvin Laird**, **Bryce Harlow**, **Roy L. Ash** and **Henry Kissinger**) who meet regularly to plot presidential strategy. The former RNC official is in charge of White House contact with Republicans across the country.

● City governments in Baltimore, Philadelphia and Wilmington (Delaware) have adopted variations of urban homesteading (see the December 15, 1972 FORUM) in order to combat the blight of abandoned housing.

● Former Democrat **Mills E. Godwin** has received the endorsement of former Democrat **Harry F. Byrd, Jr.**, in the Virginia gubernatorial race. Both former Gov. Godwin and Sen. Byrd were stalwarts in the Democratic machine of Byrd's father. Godwin's opponent is a nominal independent, as is Byrd. Godwin has received the support of two Democratic congressmen in his GOP campaign.

● U.S. Rep. **Gilbert Gude** (R) has decided not to enter next year's Maryland gubernatorial race. On the Democratic side, Senate Majority Leader **George E. Snyder** (D) has announced he's considering challenging Gov. **Marvin Mandel** for the 1974 gubernatorial nomination. Commenting on Snyder, Mandel said, "That's one of the great things about the American system, that anyone can run for office." Gov. Mandel has received some re-election backing, meanwhile; his wife, whom he says he intends to divorce, says she will back him.

● After 37 years as Vermont's national committee-woman, Mrs. **Consuelo Northrop Bailey** has stepped down in favor of State Sen. **Madeline Harwood**. Mrs. Bailey, a former lieutenant governor, had been a top GOP fundraiser in the state. Mrs. Harwood's election was unanimous when former State Rep. **Mary Thurber** decided not to contest the election.

● U.S. Rep. **William S. Mailliard** is unhappy with the new congressional district lines given him by State Supreme Court Special Masters in California. U.S. Rep. **Paul McCloskey**, himself the victim of an attempt to redistrict him into the San Andreas fault last year, has said he will file a court brief supporting his fellow Republican. In regard to Mailliard, McCloskey said, "If a man has represented people for 20 years, you don't move him to another congressional district if you can help it." The San Francisco congressman was given a district which ranges in Mailliard's words from "hard core inner city" to "beautiful dairy farms."

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The Fate of New Towns

It's not fashionable to wring one's hands these days over the fate of urban America. It's not surprising, therefore, that with all the handwringing under way in Washington, D.C., that little attention has been paid recently to the once-chic topic of "new towns." Development of such towns has nevertheless proceeded apace according to author William K. Woods. He capsulizes the history of current prototypes and urges that the federal government itself initiate some model new towns which would be admittedly experimental but which would utilize the best resources and ideas in the field. The author is a professor at Wilmington College (Wilmington, Ohio), where he teaches a course in new towns. As a FORUM correspondent, he is perhaps best known for his "Mother Goose" poetry.

by William K. Woods

What ever happened to the new community movement? The concept to build new towns seems like an idea whose time came and passed without the bang of results or the whimper of defeat.

Back in 1969, magazines like *Newsweek* talked glowingly about new towns. The National Urban Coalition sponsored tours of European new communities. George Romney, then secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, visited the satellite centers around Stockholm. Even Spiro Agnew wrote the introduction to a book entitled *The New City*. Quite early during the first term of the Nixon Administration, a new communities division was established at HUD, and it looked very much as if the President might incorporate a new town policy as a major feature of what Daniel Patrick Moynihan referred to as an emerging "national urban policy." Also in 1969, the National Committee on Urban Growth Policy issued a report recommending the construction of 110 new communities as part of a major national new town program.¹

The heralding of new towns preceded the Administration's fixation with the Indochina War and domestic unrest and the unfurling of revenue sharing as the cure-all for state and local problems. Some time between the scut-

tling of the Family Assistance Plan and the deluge of Watergate, the new community movement seemed to float into some administrative backwater. Furthermore, since new towns were discussed in terms of the urban crisis, the idea lost momentum once the environmental crisis, and then the energy crisis, replaced cities as the real status catastrophes. Now, outside of the planning journals, one doesn't hear too much about new towns, and even in these publications, the bloom seems to be off the concept. New communities no longer retain that glamour or exotic quality that once made them chic among urban specialists.²

Despite the lack of publicity of late, certain spokesmen argue that the new community movement is alive and well, and they cite a lot of evidence to make their case. More than ten new towns are under construction with federal assistance, and the New York State Urban Development Corporation has a number of projects under way or in the planning stages. Furthermore, numerous completely private ventures like Reston and Columbia continue to arise.³

Thus, with or without fanfare, a number of projects called new communities or new towns exist in some stage of development. Although Reston and Columbia remain the most celebrated examples of the private development

approach, one researcher of the movement lists as many as 129 potential and emerging new communities that rely on no public fiscal or planning aid. Frequently located on large tracts of land in western states like Arizona, New Mexico, Texas and California, these ventures are often sponsored by major corporations and large real estate developers with sufficient capital to engage in this vast extension of the older form of suburb building.⁴

After noting the quantity of these developments, one cannot deny the reality of the phenomenon. Chic or not, new towns will take their place with older villages, cities and suburbs across the country. After accepting this fact, one must question the roles that new towns will play in shaping the future social, economic, political and geographic patterns of the nation. Since prophets and propagandists of new communities claim that such projects can accomplish everything from improving the environment to curing the common cold, it becomes necessary to separate the important from the trivial reasons for building these centers.

The written objectives of the Urban Growth and New Community Development Act of 1970 remain good sources for a discussion of relevant goals. In fact, few improvements need be made to that general guideline. According to this law, any new community receiving money from HUD must seek to solve a range of problems. Applicants for federal funds must show that their projects will provide housing and occupational opportunities for different races and income groups, while they must also convince HUD officials that their communities will possess high standards of environmental quality that will sustain a more orderly future growth for their respective regions. Plans should indicate innovative thinking concerning community functions like transportation and recreation, and the sponsors must prove that state and local governments view their projects as positive contributions to area-wide planning and governance. Such broad objectives leave little room for quibbling.⁵

"Despite the lack of publicity of late, certain spokesmen argue that the new community movement is alive and well, and they cite a lot of evidence to make their case."

How do the many private new town ventures measure up to the goals of the 1970 new community development act? With only first-hand knowledge of Reston and Columbia, the author relies heavily on the experiences of these two communities plus the published accounts of other developments. Nonetheless, since Reston and Columbia receive acclaim as the brightest stars of the private new town constellation, their successes and failures do merit a lot of attention. Certain themes also seem common to all the free enterprise projects.⁶

A corporation or developer that undertakes a new town faces rather monumental obstacles. Since new towns require more property than even the largest residential suburbs, land acquisition looms as a major difficulty. Even if an appropriate space of sufficient size can be found, news of an imminent project may raise land prices beyond the

level of feasibility continuing with the venture. James Rouse, the developer of Columbia, swears that he could never again accomplish the secret "James Bond-like" purchases that provided the land base for his new town. The expense and difficulty of assembling land in metropolitan areas can drive promoters to buy up rural properties. Such retreats to agricultural regions defeat the goal of helping metropolitan areas to gain improved housing, job and recreation patterns.⁷

Land acquisition remains just the first stumbling block for the private builder. Since a new community entails planning and construction on a much larger scale than a mere suburban layout, the original costs are greater for the new town sponsor. Not only will expenses be higher due to the size and scope of the project, but a faithfulness to any of the ideals associated with new towns will boost expenditures without insuring greater future profits. For instance, a developer who wishes to build with the least possible damage to the landscape will spend more money and time than a realtor who merely bulldozes a whole area. Robert E. Simon, the builder of Reston, made the original Lake Anne Plaza and village a model of aesthetic and environmental planning, but the huge cost of this project was one of the reasons that Simon was forced to sell his interests to the Gulf Oil Corporation.⁸

Another ideal of new town advocates that is liable to be sacrificed or compromised in the market place is the goal to provide housing and jobs for different races and income groups. Confronted by obstacles of land purchase and construction costs prior to reaping any economic returns, private developers can't afford to rank housing the poor as a top priority. Struggling to make up deficits by selling lots and houses, promoters may be wary of offending middle-class buyers with the prospect of black and low income neighbors. After all, the goal of social diversity contradicts a long standing real estate maxim upholding homogeneous suburbs.⁹

Although the bulk of Reston's and Columbia's residents come from the white middle-class, blacks comprise about 15 percent of the populations of both towns. Most blacks living in these communities are professional people, but efforts have also been made to provide some low income housing. Non-profit housing groups sponsored 300 subsidized units in Columbia and apartments for 200 low and moderate income families in Reston.¹⁰

This analysis of privately developed new communities should not be regarded as a condemnation of these ventures. In fact, most free enterprise new towns provide better models for land-use and physical planning than their suburban counterparts. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that any social and ecological ideals envisioned by the developers must be woven into schemes that will allow them to survive economically.

The ventures of Robert Simon and James Rouse appear to exemplify the highest quality blend of community objectives and business necessities. In terms of recreation, internal transportation, open space, environmental planning, physical beauty and shopping and health facilities, Reston and Columbia rank well ahead of sprawling one-function suburbs. However, if the two towns represent the best that can be had in the open market, these pioneer

efforts also signal the need for public approaches and assistance. Despite the presence of blacks and a few token low-income residents, neither community rates an award as a social laboratory. Even the goal of making Reston and Columbia relatively self-contained was temporarily set aside in order to lure Washington and Baltimore commuters to buy home sites. Thus, even with high marks as successful hybrid mixtures of entrepreneurship and utopianism, they reflect the difficulties of combining social or public accounting with cost accounting.

With the goals of the 1970 Urban Growth and New Community Development Act already reviewed, it is appropriate to examine the actual achievements of federally sponsored new towns. Are the laudable objectives of the law coming to fruition in the real world of bulldozers and cement mixers? Since few HUD-aided projects are very far along in development, any comments must be quite tentative in nature.

As of August 1972, ten new communities were receiving planning and development grants from the HUD division responsible for such funding. Since that time, a number of other ventures, including the celebrated Soul City project of Floyd McKissick, the former national director of CORE, have gained approval for federal subsidies. Although a recent HUD publication oozed enthusiasm about new towns, other reports indicate a less idyllic beginning for this program. Since the Nixon Administration opposed the 1970 legislation, there was an apparent early effort to starve the program by failing to apply for all the appropriated congressional money. Another source has emphasized the bureaucratic quagmire separating a new community applicant from federal aid.¹¹

Nevertheless, a working relationship now exists between the HUD new communities division and over ten new towns. Ostensibly, these communities must comply with the objectives of the law, and on paper, these ventures look like paragons of ecological and social virtue.

For example, the recipient of the first HUD financial guarantee, Jonathan, an emerging new town in rural Minnesota, strives to produce a balance between the countryside and the city. Located on 8,000 acres, the town's current population of 1,300 is projected to reach 50,000. A group of corporations has teamed up with the original de-

veloper to experiment with different types of communications systems and housing.

Another HUD-supported community in Minnesota is a new-town-in-town within the boundaries of Minneapolis. Working with 340 acres in a physically deteriorating section of the city, the developers, in close cooperation with regional and Minneapolis agencies, hope to create a vital high density community of 30,000 people. With three colleges and two hospitals already lodged in the area, planners feel that Cedar/Riverside can become a thriving professional-residential center.

A third project receiving HUD backing is Maumelle, a new town arising twelve miles northwest of Little Rock, Arkansas. Equipped with 5,319 acres stretched out along three and a half miles of the Arkansas River, the private corporation sponsoring this venture believes it possesses a unique setting to absorb much of the Little Rock area's future growth. Planned as a series of villages connected to a town center, Maumelle will reach its full size of 60,000 after years of staged development. Recreation facilities rank as a top priority of the community sponsors.¹²

Good as these projects sound, there exist some weaknesses in this federal approach. In order to understand the concept of the 1970 Act, it is educational to look at the 1966 and 1968 laws that preceded it. From the beginning, Congress took special pains to avoid alienating the private sector by turning the government into a competitor builder-developer. Originally, all ventures needed to be initiated by private promoters, and federal assistance was small compared to a project's total cost. The main thrust of both earlier laws was to provide mortgage loans and guarantees to developers who were willing to incorporate certain planning and social goals in their new town plans.¹³

The 1970 Act goes much farther in terms of financial aid and flexibility of sponsorship, but it still upholds the dogma that the federal government cannot initiate, plan or build new towns. Now local governments and special state agencies can sponsor new communities, but HUD's new communities division must wait for applicants to come to it for assistance.¹⁴

In conclusion, the present federal guidelines and financial help for new towns cannot be called a truly na-



tional program. At best, HUD acts as a benefactor to some already germinated ventures. In a final section, it will be argued that room should be made for some federally initiated and planned new towns that need not fear bankruptcy due to any setbacks caused by fluctuations in the building or real estate markets.

Unique in its present status in the country, the New York State Urban Development Corporation offers another public approach to creating new communities. Established by the New York Legislature in 1968, this public corporation may constitute a more adequate vehicle for building new towns than either a profit-seeking enterprise or a potentially cumbersome national agency. Operating on the state level, UDC was given broad authority to initiate and finance a variety of community endeavors designed to improve an area's housing, occupational, recreational, environmental or aesthetic resources.¹⁵

With sweeping powers to override local zoning and building codes, UDC can build an industrial park or a new town anywhere it wants in the Empire State. Originally funded with 40 million dollars and given the right to float up to \$1.5 billion of state bonds, the corporation possesses considerable economic weight. Led by Edward J. Logue, the energetic former director of New Haven's and Boston's urban renewal programs, UDC spent the first years selling itself rather than bludgeoning local leaders with its legal clout.

With a mandate to plan, finance and build everything from housing clusters to new towns, UDC has begun a variety of projects during its four-year existence. Currently, UDC assumes responsibility for three new communities. Emerging under its guidance is a new-town-in-town and two new towns located within metropolitan areas.

The Welfare Island project remains the most publicized of UDC's ventures. Under contractual agreement with New York City, UDC promises to transform this once under-used and rather seedy island in the East River into a vital and diverse residential community of 20,000 people. Although red tape and financial problems have slowed the project, Ed Logue remains confident that rich as well as poor people will flock to reside on this riverfront community that will feature architectural ingenuity and a ban on the automobile.¹⁶

Under way on 2,000 acres to the north of Buffalo, Audubon will be a new town designed to absorb metropolitan expansion and the growth stimulated by a new state university. Since Audubon's site lies within the town of Amherst, UDC works on this project in partnership with the town. Planned as a fifteen year development, Audubon will eventually provide housing for 27,500 people of different income levels. Amherst would only agree to the plan after UDC assured town fathers that the environmental quality of the area would remain constant.

Another UDC new community created to order metropolitan growth is Lysander. UDC was invited by Syracuse leaders in 1968 to do something creative with 2,700 acres that formerly housed a World War II munitions plant. Located outside the city, the site appeared to be made to order for a small community geared to shelter the population overflow in the region. Projected for 18,000 residents by 1980, UDC blueprints call for housing and

jobs for a variety of social and economic groups.¹⁷

Besides the three new communities, UDC has had even more success in housing people in numerous smaller ventures. From 1968 through 1972, UDC completed units for 7,000 persons, while it was already at work on 103 other housing projects. No other U.S. public agency seems to be able to match UDC's power, flexibility and results.¹⁸

This review indicates that a variety of mechanisms exist for promoting new communities. What needs further analysis is the best way to achieve new towns that foster the kinds of social and physical planning goals that were discussed earlier in this essay. Due to the complexities of the market place, completely private ventures will incorporate economically costly public benefits only so long as they are profitable. The tempting carrots of federal sub-

"By daring to unleash the best minds in planning some new cities, it may prove possible to bring the fragmented and dispersed specializations of modern society together into a meaningful pattern."

sidies will probably continue to lure some entrepreneurs to at least conform minimally to the standards of the 1970 new communities law. Nevertheless, if new towns are to play a significant role in solving long-term environmental and social problems, public goals must comprise their primary justification for existence. In that case, it will take public institutions to guide the development of such communities.

Judging from the results of the first four and a half years of UDC's activities in New York, new community advocates seem justified in supporting the creation of such public corporations in the other 49 states. In a country the size of the United States, the state comes closest to an appropriate geographic size for dealing with metropolitan and regional problems, and New York's UDC is comparable to the type of public body that initiates new communities in England and France. Also, UDC possesses the flexibility to construct mini-communities and housing clusters. Armed with the same powers and financial resources that New York's UDC boasts, other state corporations could be equally effective within their jurisdictional boundaries. Besides proposing the establishment of state urban development corporations, there also appears to be a need for further legislation at the national level. For one thing, a number of states aren't prepared for the domestic Vietnamization program envisioned by Nixon's architects of revenue sharing. Also, it does not seem wise in the era of the urban-industrial state for the national government to renounce its responsibilities in domestic affairs.

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Future new communities legislation should set objectives and monetary incentives that encourage and favor state development corporations as the suitable vehicles for new town development. Furthermore, Congress should establish an independent national agency responsible for planning and building several experimental new cities.

Why turn a national agency into a new community builder? For some answers to that question, one should turn to the proposals drafted in 1969 by the National Committee on Urban Growth Policy. In that report, the committee recommended that the nation should build by the year 2000, "100 new communities averaging 100 thousand population each and 10 new communities of at least 1 million in population." Despite the apparent enormity of the proposal, the committee and other experts predict that these 110 communities would only accommodate 20 percent of the nation's population growth by the end of the century. Even granting the slippery nature of population projections, it is safe to say that most Americans will never live in new communities.¹⁹

If even a sweeping new community program will absorb less than a quarter of America's population growth, should not these new cities and towns possess an impact beyond their geographic boundaries? By experimenting with technology and planning methods, some of these ventures could serve as laboratories for the rest of society. Successful innovations in environmental planning or industrialized housing could then be transferred to smaller scale developments.

In order to show a national commitment to experimental planning on a large scale, the federal government should accept a total responsibility for at least five or ten new cities. These should be prestigious national projects that will attract the best planners, architects, ecologists, sociologists, political scientists, engineers, economists, philosophers and artists. Working together unfettered by limits of cost, these experts might synthesize their areas of knowledge into plans for some exciting future communities. An achievement of wholeness, after all, is probably the single most important goal of the new community process. By daring to unleash the best minds in planning some new cities, it may prove possible to bring the fragmented and dispersed specializations of modern society together into a meaningful pattern.

To some people, these proposals for national and state involvement in new community building will appear un-American. Critics will argue that such schemes should be left to more socialistic countries like Sweden and England. A few observations should be made about this point of view.

For one thing, publicly planned new communities would not replace private development. The two processes would go on side by side. Secondly, state or federal new towns would be constructed by private builders who contracted to follow government plans. Finally, the concept of America's *laissez faire* tradition in city and town development is unhistorical.

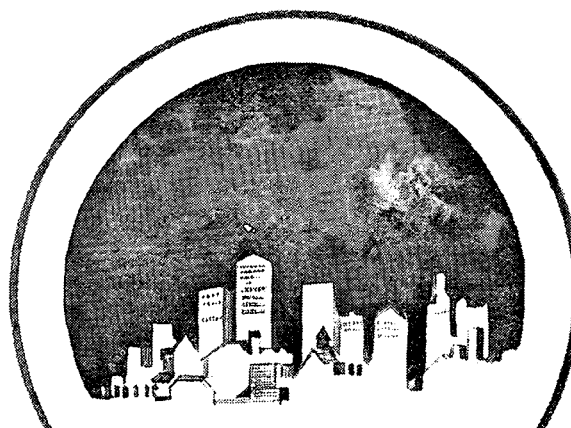
As one urban scholar recently pointed out, America has a long neglected tradition of totally planned cities. Philadelphia, Savannah and Salt Lake City are three of

the more well-known cities that began with complete plans, while Williamsburg, Virginia is merely the most famous example of government planned communities established in the Old Dominion during the eighteenth century.²⁰

As America's bicentennial approaches, one should remember the case of early Washington, D.C. Two founding fathers in good standing, George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, decided that the capital of their new country should possess an orderly and unified plan. They, therefore, kept the site of Washington, D.C. under public ownership until a plan was drawn, adopted, and partially completed. If the founding fathers, confronted by few social problems and unlimited space, could act so wisely, certainly we of the megalopolis generation should do no less.²¹ ■

FOOTNOTES

1. Donald Canty, editor, *The New City* (Frederick A. Praeger, 1969); *Readings On Selected New Towns In Europe* (Urban America, Inc., 1969); Daniel P. Moynihan, ed., *Toward A National Urban Policy* (Basic Books, Inc., 1970); "The New City Blues" *Newsweek* (July 14, 1969), pp. 46, 51.
2. Paul O'Mara, "Citizen Participation Sought In New Towns," *Planning* (Dec. 1972), pp. 300-302.
3. Robert E. Simon, "The Challenge of Starting New Communities," *HUD Challenge* (Aug. 1972), pp. 8-10.
4. James A. Clapp, *New Towns And Urban Policy* (Dunellen Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), pp. 291-298 and pp. 111-126.
5. Samuel C. Jackson, "New Communities," *HUD Challenge* (Aug. 1972), pp. 1-4.
6. See the extensive bibliography in Clapp, *New Towns and Urban Policy*.
7. William Steif, "New Scheme For Housing Problem," *The Cincinnati Post* (Nov. 15, 1969).
8. "Two Pioneers," *HUD Challenge* (Aug. 1972), pp. 11, 12; Clapp, *New Towns and Urban Policy*, pp. 132-139.
9. Clapp, p. 71.
10. Wolf Von Eckardt, "A Fresh Scene In The Clean Dream," *Saturday Review* (May 15, 1971), p. 22.
11. *HUD Challenge* (Aug. 1972); "Starving New Communities," *The New Republic* (May 29, 1971), p. 9; "Soul City," *The New Republic* (July 3, 1971), pp. 9, 10, 11.
12. "HUD Guaranteed New Communities," *HUD Challenge* (Aug. 1972), pp. 13-19.
13. Clapp, pp. 151-2 5.
14. Simpson Lawson, "New Towns In Old Cities," *City* (May/June 1971), pp. 40-41.
15. William K. Reilly and S. J. Schulman, "The State Urban Development Corporation," *The Urban Lawyer* (Summer 1969), pp. 129-146; "Housing: How Ed Logue Does It," *Newsweek* (Nov. 6 1972), pp. 88, 91, 92; Steif, "New Scheme For Housing Problem."
16. Richard Rogin, "New Town On New York Island," *City* (May/June 1971), pp. 42-47.
17. *Annual Report of the New York State Urban Development Corporation 1971* (The State of New York, 1973), pp. 48-51.
18. "Housing: How Ed Logue Does It," p. 88.
19. "Report Of The National Committee On Urban Growth Policy," in *The New City*, pp. 169-174.
20. Carl Feiss, "America's Neglected Tradition," in *The New City*, pp. 81-100.
21. Donald Canty, *The Urban Crisis* (League of Women Voters, 1968), p. 61.



DULY NOTED: BOOKS

● **Brown-Out: The Power Crisis in America**, by William Rodgers. (Stein and Day, 1972 289 pages, \$7.95) At a time when the general public is being bombarded with corporate propaganda, much of it anti-environmentalist, regarding the "energy crisis," it is cheering to see some muckraking journalism for the other side. William Rodgers's **Brown-Out** is a popular, anecdotal survey of the electric power industry and its political and economic connections. Grounded in dozens of special reports and studies, the book is less valuable for its somewhat Utopian solutions (a national energy policy board for which environmentalist groups elect half the members, for instance) than its contribution toward public consciousness-raising concerning what the author calls "the senseless promotion of the use of energy" and the need to adopt certain policies and attitudes leading to the control of demand rather than its continuous expansion. Aside from a useful historical overview of the growth of the electric power industry and a maliciously delightful examination of Disney World entitled "Power in the Tourist Trap Kingdom," the book is concerned with power in both the technological and the political senses. Although the author is adept at identifying villains, e.g. Messrs. Nixon and Rockefeller, he does have a certain sympathy for the electric companies as human organizations, caught up by their own growth rhetoric and their history of rewards by government and society, and now under assault by a variety of critics. The self-deceptions of "free enterprise" in a monopolistic industry, the expanding control of the oil interests over all fossil fuels and its consequences for the energy business, the complexities and complications of nuclear reactor politics, and the environmental consequences of our present course are leading themes in the book. Not deeply enough researched on any one aspect to serve as the basis for public policy decisions, but a timely first book for the general reader. Reviewed by William A. Koelsch.

● **Precision Journalism: A Reporter's Introduction to Social Science Methods**, by Philip Meyer. (Indiana University Press, 1973, 342 pages, \$10.00 hardbound, \$2.95 paperback) By social science methods, Philip Meyer, a national correspondent for Knight Newspapers, means survey research to uncover the public's attitudes, opinions, characteristics and voting preferences. Meyer believes that surveys make good newspaper stories, that "reporters should learn to program computers," and that discovering segments of the public with views or characteristics differing substantially from the norm will lead the inquisitive journalist to search for the reason and to uncover an even better story. Meyer's book is designed as an elementary instruction for other journalists who wish to take their own surveys. Unfortunately, the chapter on "Statistics," designed to provide the mathematical background necessary to take an honest survey, is inadequate. Meyer's book is fun reading — the chapter on how Messrs. Gallup and Harris get the last bit of accuracy out of their final poll before each presidential election is the best — but a journalist without a quantitative background will need to read more than Meyer's book before he can take his first good survey. Reviewed by Robert D. Behn.

● **For a New Liberty**, by Murray Rothbard. (MacMillan, 1973, 400 pages, \$7.95) At a time when Congress and President Nixon are haggling over just how much more of your money bureaucrats should spend this year than last, it is nice to find talk about an alternative. Murray Rothbard, an economist at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, has been making refreshing noises of this sort recently. In **For a New Liberty**, he argues that the government should go away and let individuals cooperate to meet problems in an anarchistic manner. Rothbard is by no means a bomb-thrower. He admires a line of distinguished American politicians running from Thomas Jefferson to Robert Taft, Jr., who he believes embodied a libertarian spirit. His book explores the possibilities of peaceful solutions to problems through such respectable vehicles as free enterprise, profit, and voluntary association. But Rothbard is a radical. He believes that a

state is intrinsically incapable of caring for the people within its purview. It invariably insulates itself from those who make pesky requests for safe streets, good education and a judicial process that works once in a while, since it holds a monopoly in these areas. And the problem gets worse as the state enlarges in size and power. As an alternative, Rothbard suggests that we try to do as much as we can — without state or private coercion. For a start, all subsidies to the Highway Trust would be yanked away, for the first time putting roads on a competitive basis with a reprivatized rail system. Once transportation was balanced, Ma Bell and the utilities would face the terrifying prospect of carrying their own weight in a free market. Meanwhile, rich farmers and Greek shipping magnates would no longer pluck billions from taxpayers' pockets, the minimum wage would vanish, the welfare state would evaporate, and finally, as the state withered away completely, defense would become privately financed. To the questions which sprout from these theses, Rothbard gives careful answers. Successful examples of private delivery of government services run throughout the book, and he frequently cites ingenious new ways of handling services now managed by the state. People who are unhappy with the spread of bureaucratic kingdoms will profit greatly from reading his proposals. As Nicholas von Hoffman, writing about Rothbard's book in two recent columns, said "... the general dissatisfaction is so great that we'd be crazy not to try some of these ideas experimentally." Reviewed by Mark C. Frazier.

● **The Middle East: A Political and Economic Survey**, Fourth Edition, edited by Peter Mansfield. (Oxford University Press, 1973, 591 pages, \$19.95) This latest edition of a series begun in 1950 is really a reference book, and an excellent one at that. The previous editions were sponsored by the Royal Institute of International Affairs and were edited by Sir Reader Bullard who had long service in various British diplomatic posts in the Middle East. The present editor, Peter Mansfield, is a journalist and professional writer who brings equally distinguished credentials to his task. His 1969 book, **Nasser's Egypt**, was a fine picture of modern Egypt, and he has written many other books and articles on Middle Eastern subjects. **The Middle East** is organized into an introduction which includes discussions of the geography, history and politics, religions, and economic and social problems of the region as a whole, and then presents a series of "Thematic Studies" on such topics as "The Origins of the Palestine Problem," "Arab Political Movements," "The United States in the Middle East," "Soviet Policy in the Middle East," "The Oil Industry," and others. **The Middle East** then discusses each country's geography and people, religious background, history and political organization, and economic and social arrangements, and usually makes a few useful notes regarding the country's future and problems. The states covered are Saudi Arabia, Yemen, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the entities in the rest of the Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, the Sudan, Syria, and Turkey. Appendices covering population, economic indicators, and trade are provided for the region as a whole and for each country. A foldout political and economic map and a useful reading list are also included. This is an excellent reference work, stylishly written but like all such works it tends to be dated before it is published. Although the book has a 1973 publication date, there is almost no reference to anything which occurred in the region after the autumn of 1971, and obviously the intervening changes in the oil industry and the Soviet relationship could have been usefully included. The reading list is not without its omissions, and one could wish that the list had included such works as Morroe Berger's still excellent 1962 study, **The Arab World Today**, or Kemal Karpat's important, **Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East** (1967), or the 1969 Edition of William Polk's, **The United States and the Arab World**. Even more useful would have been a topographical map to supplement the political map already contained in the book. One must also hope that the publishers will issue a paperback edition so as to bring this book, with its horrendous hardcover price, within the range of those students to whom it could be of help. Reviewed by Thomas A. Sargent.

● **Decentralizing the City: A Study of Boston's Little City Halls**, by Eric A. Nordlinger. (M.I.T. Press, 1972, 309 pages, \$12.50) **Decentralizing the City** is an interesting book, primarily to urban administrators, public administration scholars, and persons interested in the practical aspects of urban decentralization movements. It is an account of the effectiveness of the Boston Little City Halls, created in 1968 after Mayor Kevin White's campaign promise to "bring government closer to the people." The first chapter outlines four models of urban decentralization, concluding that the Little City Hall model offered, at least in theory, the best prospects for effecting change, increasing responsiveness and reducing citizen dissatisfaction. The book examines empirical data on citizen evaluation of urban services, a theoretical analysis of the city bureaucracy, strategies which Little City Hall managers could use to change bureaucratic behavior through interaction with departmental foremen, citizen attitudes toward and usages of Little City Halls, and analysis of the role strains on the Little City Hall managers. The final chapter evaluates the Little City Hall experiment, concluding that it did little to improve government responsiveness, was moderately effective in reducing citizen alienation, and was of considerable help in improving public services. The chapters are of uneven quality. Those earlier chapters which deal with theoretical models are generally weak and not always conceptually clear. One wishes there had been some empirical investigation of Boston bureaucrats, rather than a *priori* theorizing (even though the theorizing seems intuitively appealing to me). The parts of the book which describe the actual Little City Hall program are very good. Bureaucratic behavior, organizational patterns, and strategies for change are dealt with effectively. The most useful part of the book for pedagogical purposes is the clear demonstration of the complex linkages between politics and administration. The Little City Hall managers, torn between the mayor, community, and department, come through as a classic case of the "man in the middle." It would be difficult, except perhaps for the city manager, to find a position which more clearly demonstrates the impossibility of distinguishing between politics and administration. This is also what the Little City Halls are — a unique blend of politics and administration. Reviewed by John Rehfuss.

● **Power Play: Oil in the Middle East** by Leonard Mosley. (Random House, 1973, 458 pages, \$10.00) "Petroleum has become as much the drug of Western civilization as cigarettes and alcohol," writes British journalist Leonard Mosley in this absorbing survey of the exploration and exploitation of Middle East oil reserves by European and American companies. The focus of the book is less on Western demand than on Middle Eastern supply, and on the shifting relationships of oilmen and governments from the later 19th century until the agreements of March 1972 which granted Arab "participation" in corporate affairs. Tying specific events and diverse localities together is the rise of Arab and Iranian nationalism and the adjustments, most of them inept, which the oil interests have made to it. Another and related red thread is the cartelization of the industry and the ways in which its power has had effects in such diverse phenomena as the creation of model company towns, the enlistment of government agencies (including the CIA) in the service of industry, and the fantastic (79.2 percent per annum) profits reaped by American oil companies in the process. Mosley's account is generally evenhanded, well-written, and suitably ironic when occasion demands, as it does frequently. At the end, he argues that only a nationalization of the concessions can destroy the stranglehold of the international oil cartel and bring consumer prices down. The new participatory arrangements, the additional time needed for training more native technicians and administrative personnel, and the chronic divisions among Arab states may delay that solution. But beginning in 1979, when current leases begin to expire, Mosley sees still further changes in the volatile relationships of nationalism and Western interests. In particular, he forecasts the increasing use by the Arabs of threats to curtail Western oil supplies as leverage against American and other support of Israel. The author bases much of his account on extensive interviews with sheiks, oilmen, technicians and politicians of varying persuasions on three continents. The result is an informative, timely, and useful work. Reviewed by William A. Koelsch.

● **The New Federalism**, by Michael D. Reagan. (Oxford University Press, 1972, 175 pages, \$5.95) **The New Federalism** involves a critical review of that aspect of the "new federalism" involving revenue sharing — and an elaboration on the merits of what Professor Reagan calls "permissive federalism." He argues that federalism as an historical and constitutional concept is "dead" and has no more meaning in American politics. The point is made succinctly: "... I ask the reader: Exactly what powers does Congress not possess under present Court interpretation of the Constitution?..." The "reality" of American government, notes the author, is that we are approaching a unitary state or its precursor, "permissive federalism," which is defined as "... a sharing of power and authority between the national and state governments," but with the qualification that "the state's share rests upon the permission and permissiveness of the national government." The merits of **The New Federalism** can be found in Professor Reagan's critique of revenue sharing and in his presentation of possible alternatives. The author rejects the arguments of both conservatives and liberals and the myth that state and local governments, which he has relegated to mere administrative governmental units, can revive their independence and integrity, and he dismisses the belief that revenue sharing "with no strings attached" is workable or possible in the modern system of "permissive federalism." He suggests "tax credits" and "block grants" as more reasonable alternatives to revenue sharing. The major flaw of **The New Federalism** can be found in the author's abandonment of the constitutional question of American federalism. Reagan's dismissal of the important constitutional question of American federalism leads him to a blind and non-critical acceptance of "permissive federalism." Thus, he is unable to conceive of a constitutional amendment, or the like, that would restructure the federal income tax to assure that the states and local governments would assert their historical and constitutional role as partners in the federal system and checks upon the federal government. The danger of Reagan's "permissive federalism" is that if the unquestionable authority of the federal government is accepted as "the" political reality, then there can be no basis, outside of pure power politics, to condemn or check the possible future development of a tyrannical-like national government. Reagan presupposes the belief that the federal government will always be both rational and good: a most questionable philosophical presupposition. Reviewed by Gene Terracina.

● **The Retreat of American Power**, by Henry Brandon. (Doubleday, 1973, 368 pages, \$8.95) Henry Brandon is a British journalist with over twenty-five years of experience in international reporting; he has written a sober, lucid and generally favorable survey of the Nixon foreign policy during its first term, or rather until December 1, 1973, which means that his chapter on Vietnam has been superseded by events. Brandon covers our sundry crises with intelligence and detachment, although his survey is sometimes superficial, rarely original, and often gossipy. Brandon is very favorable toward Nixon and Kissinger, balanced on Connally (no intellectual, but a negotiator), down on Rogers (a genial lightweight) and on Laird (a politician of expediency). As the title suggests, Brandon sees the American role in world affairs diminishing, and the Seventies as a period when American foreign policy will be settling into the new mold already established by Nixon-Kissinger. The problems of this transitional era may well be severe. Imperial Germany found no replacement for Bismarck, and we may not find one for Kissinger. Brandon's version of our role in the India-Pakistan-Bangladesh War indicates the strain that a policy of the balance of power *uber alles* can place on an America which still sees it foreign alignments in moral terms. It will be necessary to form a new consensus for this policy, which, because it is more sophisticated, will have to be justified by more than the simple anti-communist rhetoric which sustained the Cold War. As a nation we are not overly sophisticated about foreign affairs, and the consensus may never jell. Brandon fears that fashioning of a new form of alliance with Western Europe will be difficult, that military parity with Russia will have to be constantly watched (we should never have MIRV-ed), that the American economy will be vulnerable in foreign trade (Kissinger's blind spot). Reviewed by C.R. Connell.

LETTERS

Off the Track

One of the dangers of publishing a "Politics: People" feature appears to be a relaxation of normal standards of accuracy. In the course of speculating upon the political plans of Messrs. Rockefeller, Samuels et al, the FORUM (August 15, 1973) stated that the New York City Off-Track Betting Corporation would be taken over by a statewide agency.

An examination of Chapter 346 of the Laws of 1973 would inform a careful columnist that the newly created State Racing and Wagering Board supersedes the regulatory authority of various State commissions but that the NYCOTBC continues as a public corporation with its powers virtually undiminished.

As a long-time Ripon member and FORUM subscriber who participated in drafting the legislation that became Chapter 346, I wanted to set the record straight.

JASON R. GETTINGER
New York, New York

Editor's Postscript: Preparatory to his resignation at the end of this year, Off-Track Betting president Howard J. Samuels has recommended to New York City Mayor Abraham D. Beame that a Republican be named OTB's new president. Samuels' choice is Joseph F. Joyce, currently executive vice president of OTB. Although Joyce, formerly a Suffolk County lawyer, is not actively engaged in GOP politics, it is theorized that Samuels' suggestion was meant to blunt charges that OTB has been a pre-gubernatorial campaign organization for Democrat Samuels.

What is Ripon?

The more I think about it, the more I come back to my original question: what is the Ripon Society? Is it a group of disparate Republicans, milling together herd-like because they vaguely feel left out, that the party has taken a direction its founders never intended? Is it a kind of political detention camp with invisible fences, cleverly erected by the party leadership to contain party dissidents? A diversion contrived to keep Republican idealists busy and impotent?

Or does the Ripon Society have a character, a life, an energy, of its own? Is it a group of activists dedicated to the restoration of integrity and compassion to a party which has given the nation — and our State of California — great leadership in the past? Will the Ripon Society try to remove from power and influence those amoral men who have led the party astray, who confuse their own narrow views and power drives with the dream of America, and who believe their ends justify any means?

If its character and mission are to restore principle and pride in Republicanism, how should the Ripon Society organize here and where should it begin?

Obviously, a viable Ripon Society anywhere must seek removal from party control of those people who have proved unworthy of Republican Party leadership, because they have contributed, either actively or passively, to the present moral bankruptcy and bad name of the party.

One automatically thinks of Washington and Watergate, but the rot goes far deeper. We had an example here in Los Angeles which I believe cries for action and offers an immediate reason and challenge for the Ripon Society here at home.

I refer to the use of the Los Angeles County Republican Central Committee in a racist attack on a decent black man, Tom Bradley, in his campaign for mayor. Both candidates in the runoff were Democrats, and the office they sought is non-partisan. Why, then, did the Republican County Central Committee lend its name to a telegram backing Sam Yorty and attacking Bradley in words so racist and insulting to the intelligence that the message backfired and won Bradley support?

How was this piece of bumbling bigotry arranged, and by whom? Certainly the county committee as a whole did

not vote for it. Were party funds used to pay for this expensive aberration?

Were party funds available for local, non-partisan campaigning? This, of course, includes the time and expenses of paid staff. Was the action taken within the legal scope and powers of the committee?

I do not think I have to spell out to the young members of the Society the monstrous damage this egregious example of terrible public relations did to the party drive to enlist youth, or to gain the support of millions of voters who seek wise and worthy political leadership and doubt they can find it among the Democratic candidates.

If the Ripon Society has a *raison d'être*, other than to provide dubious comfort for the discontented, I think it must seize upon this challenge and opportunity here at home to rid the party of leadership and control which either devised or permitted this perversion of the purposes and name of the Los Angeles County Republican Central Committee.

What precise action is indicated? First, I believe lawyer members of the Ripon Society here should explore the legal scope and powers of the central committee, to see whether there has been a violation of the law in this instance.

There must be many Republicans in Los Angeles who retain some degree of moral indignation, some pride in their political beliefs and affiliation . . . people who do not sanction and apologize for Watergate and the mess in the White House . . . Republicans who supported Tom Bradley for Mayor with great sincerity.

Their collective and organized strength should be more than adequate to retire from power and influence those guilty of the racist attack on Bradley and the stain on the party's honor and integrity. Such resolute action is the only way the Republican Party may regain its credibility and reputation, and remain viable and effective in local, state, and national affairs, in my opinion.

FREDERIC A. CHASE
Los Angeles, California

Editor's Footnote: Subsequent to Mr. Chase's letter, former Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty, defeated for reelection, switched his registration to the Republican Party. The letter was originally directed to the members of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Ripon Society.

The Liberal Press

I am constantly mystified at the inaccuracy of the "liberal" press especially when its reporting is based on non-primary "liberal" sources. I refer specifically to the piece in the September FORUM on the Javits-Buckley softball game.

Clearly, this article was based on a paragraph in the "Notes on People" column in the Saturday, July 28th editions of the *New York Times* which was in turn presumably based on a "leak" from the Buckley office.

For, in fact, the game went the regulation seven innings and the score was tallied throughout all seven. The final score was Javits 17 — Buckley 4, which not only is indicative of the strength of progressive Republicanism but also a prescience of the strength of Sen. Jacob Javits for 1974.

In addition, the Javits regulars were able to handily deal with the inflated Buckley team consisting of such conservative ringers as an anonymous YAF field man and at least one member of Sen. Carl Curtis' staff.

JUDAH C. SOMMER
Executive Assistant
Sen. Jacob Javits
Washington, D.C.

Exotic Titles

Unless I was drunk when I typed it, I think my title was "After the Summit: A Tamed Bear?" (See the September 1973 FORUM.) I prefer my version to yours.

So that the reading public may be assured that exotic and elliptical titles are not my bag, could you have an **erratum** noted in the next issue?

Peace the keep.

ROBERT H. DONALDSON
Ripon Vice President
Washington, D.C.

Minority Business Enterprise

As a Ripon member, a MESBIC manager, and as an individual involved in the minority business development effort almost since its inception, I was pleased to see Ripon take note of the activities and problems of this important program. (See "Putting The Enterprise Back in OMBE," in the June 15, 1973 FORUM.) I agree most strongly with your supposition that things have not gone by perfectly in the past and I feel the reasons are primarily three:

1. The unrealistic funding of both "ma and pa" dead end businesses and promoters with grandiose schemes as opposed to the technically proven entrepreneur who is willing to sweat and to "risk it all" to be profitable.
2. The unrealistic expectations for quick success in spite of the proven 5 - 7 year cycle of small business development.
3. The unfortunate funding by OMBE of political noisemakers, in many cases, with a disregard for many performance-oriented field operations such as ours.

I am hopeful toward the future, in that those in this field are becoming encouragingly realistic and that the new regime at OMBE will be taking a more performance-oriented stance in the future.

WILLIAM P. MATTHEWS
Executive Director
Greater Springfield Investment Corp.
Springfield, Massachusetts

14a ELIOT STREET

● The Boston-Cambridge Chapter hosted **John R. Bunting**, progressive Philadelphia banker, at its September meeting. Bunting told the chapter that the national economy is actually sounder than traditional indices such as the stock market would suggest. He attributed much of the economic gloom to misunderstandings on the part of consumers about the meaning of recent price surges compounded by the depression about government's ability to cope with the economy as a result of Watergate and related scandals. The Administration's controls program was doomed to fail, he said, because its architects had no faith in it. He proposed instead a firm, three-year program of decreasing allowable price and wage levels which would, he said, allow the economy to decontrol itself. Over the long term, Bunting predicted, interest rates of 7-8 percent would become normal, and national growth would gradually be redefined to include the quality of life. About 130 (actual as opposed to potential) people attended the meeting of the "moribund" chapter.

● The Ripon Society is expanding to cable television, or at least some of our members are. **Mary S. Robinson**, **Joycelyn Wurzburg**, and **Urania Alissandratos** of the Memphis Chapter are part of a group who have founded the first women's channel in cable television in the country. Women in Cable, Inc. will also be joined by the first black-operated channel when Memphis CATV goes on the air this winter.

● U.S. Representatives **Phillip Ruppe** (R-Mich.) and **Don Young** (R-Alaska) debated the desirability of the Alaskan Pipeline at a meeting of the Washington, D.C. Chapter, July 24.

● New York Ripon member **Sal Scalafani** was recently elected chairman of the New York City Board of Elections. The young Staten Island resident was a darkhorse candidate for the position on the newly-reconstituted board.

● Speaking to the New York Chapter August 23, Judge **Charles D. Breitel** (R) said New York should undertake a well-financed study to determine the root causes of crime in order to better lawlessness. Judge Breitel, now an associate justice on the State Court of Appeals, New York's highest court, is the Republican-Liberal candidate for chief judge of that court in the only statewide race this year.

● Gloucester eel fisherman **Peter C. Berg** has been elected president of the Boston-Cambridge Chapter. Berg, a former administrative assistant to **Francis W. Hatch, Jr.**, Republican leader of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, replaces **Robert D. Behn**, who has moved to

Durham, North Carolina, to join the faculty of Duke University as an associate professor at the Institute for Policy Sciences and Public Affairs. Harvard College undergraduate **Mark Frazier** was elected treasurer and membership chairman of the chapter. Frazier, who spent the summer working for columnist **Jack Anderson**, replaces **M. Victoria Golden**, assistant editor of the FORUM who has moved to Washington, D.C. with the Ripon office. Also elected to the chapter's executive board were **Thomas Reid**, a special assistant to Sen. **Edward Brooke**, who works out of his Boston office, and **John Curtis**, a Harvard Law School student who spent the past summer as a Ripon Research Fellow.

● U.S. Rep. **Paul Findley** (R-Ill.) addressed a meeting of the New Haven Chapter on April 24, concentrating on his "Atlantic Union Resolution." U.S. Rep. **Ronald A. Sarasin** (R-Conn.) addressed the chapter on May 4. Sarasin defeated long-time incumbent **John Monagan** in 1972.

● Dr. **John Rehfuess**, acting director of the Center for Governmental Studies at Northern Illinois University, has been named a contributing editor of the FORUM. **M. Victoria Golden** has been named assistant editor.

THE RIPON SOCIETY, INC.

is a Republican research policy organization whose members are young business, academic and professional men and women. It has national headquarters in Washington, D.C., chapters in fifteen cities, National Associate members throughout the fifty states, and several affiliated groups of subchapter status. The Society is supported by chapter dues, individual contributions and revenues from its publications and contract work. The Society offers the following options for annual contribution: Contributor \$25 or more; Sustainer \$100 or more; Founder \$1000 or more. Inquiries about membership and chapter organization should be addressed to the National Director.

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DULY NOTED: POLITICS

● **"Holshouser v. Helms: Will Success Spoil State Republicans?"** by Claude Sitton. *Raleigh News and Observer*, September 2, 1973. "As if Watergate had not brought them enough trouble, North Carolina Republicans are sharpening their knives for a round of intra-party cannibalism. The apparent cause of contention is the bid by Frank A. Rouse for re-election to the state party chairmanship. At bottom, however, the struggle is turning into a feud between the factions of Gov. James E. Holshouser, Jr. and Sen. Jesse Helms over control of the state party's future," writes Sitton. Rouse is being challenged by Thomas S. Bennett, who is chairman of the Carteret County Commissioners and Holshousers's choice for the GOP chairmanship. Rouse and Holshouser have had strong differences over party patronage; Holshouser had tried to use his position and patronage to strengthen the moderate wing of the GOP. "Now, the ultraconservatives apparently hope to hold the Holshouser threat to a minimum by re-electing Rouse. Their next logical step would be an attempt to take over the party in the 1976 primaries. This is more than just a Republican issue. For one thing, the rule-or-ruin philosophy already demonstrated by Rouse could jeopardize whatever chances Holshouser has for writing a successful record as governor."

● **"No Ford-Cook contest? Kentucky Senate race in '74 may be wide open."** by Bill Billiter. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, September 10, 1973. "Only a few months ago, Kentucky's 1974 U.S. Senate race appeared to be patently predictable: It would feature incumbent Republican Sen. Marlow Cook vs. Democratic Gov. Wendell Ford," according to *Courier-Journal* Political Editor Billiter. Now, however, Ford has come close to taking himself out of the race and Sen. Cook is reportedly considering entering private industry. Writes Billiter: "Other Republican sources said that Cook is well aware that the GOP has suffered an unbroken chain of losses in Kentucky since his election in 1968. Democrats won back control of Louisville and Jefferson County in 1969; ousted Republican U.S. Rep. William Cowger in 1970; won back the governor's mansion in 1971, and captured the U.S. Senate seat in 1972, despite President Nixon's massive victory." Republicans need victories in Louisville and Jefferson County to boost Cook's chances for victory next year. Cook has said he will disclose his political intentions in November. In the Democratic Party, meanwhile, Gov. Ford and State Democratic Chairman J.R. Miller are boosting Lieutenant Gov. Julian Carroll (D) for the Senate while working to deflate Carroll's chances of succeeding to the governorship in 1974. Carroll has said he isn't interested in the Senate. With Ford out of the running, the Democrats will probably choose their candidate from the following list of names: U.S. Rep. Romano L. Mazzoli, State Sen. William Sullivan, Jefferson County Judge Todd Hollenbach and fried chicken magnate John Y. Brown, Jr. The GOP field includes U.S. Rep. Tim Lee Carter, U.S. Rep. Gene Snyder, former State Parks Commissioner Robert Gable and Louisville-Jefferson County Republican Chairman Mitch McConnell.

● **"Sargent shoves up as tough to beat in '74,"** by Cornelius Dalton. (Boston) *Sunday Herald Advertiser*, September 9, 1973. "The (1974 Massachusetts) GOP ticket is already taking shape. It will be headed by Gov. (Francis) Sargent and Lt. Gov. (Donald) Dwight, both Yankees. State Sen. John Quinlan of Norwood, an Irish-American, is close to putting a clamp on the nomination for Secretary of the Commonwealth. Administration Secretary William Cowin, a member of the Jewish faith, will probably be the GOP candidate for attorney general. And an Italo-American, without much doubt, will be endorsed for state treasurer or state auditor," writes Dalton. He quotes one leading Democrat who tells the following story about his mother: "My mother is Irish. She's in her 80's and every time Gov. Sargent goes on television and says, 'I need your help,' Mother says, 'He's a nice man and we should help him.'" That image may protect Gov. Sargent next year, according to Dalton, but he asks, "How long will the voters of Massachusetts, the most Democratic state in the nation, continue to elect Republican governors?"

● **"Party of the Rich?"** by William S. White. *Washington Post*, September 15, 1973. "A funny thing is happening to the Republicans on the way back from that extraordinary binge of hot money and over-heated chowder heads so long celebrated as Watergate. The big money is now fleeing from the GOP as from a modern plague. Because of this, a hitherto indestructible cliché of politics is dying. The stereotype that is now biting the dust — the dust, that is, that is being stirred up by the flying feet of the departing fat cats — is that the Republicans are by ordination the party of the rich and the Democrats the party of the poor," writes columnist White. He points out that the Republican National Committee has been surprisingly successful raising money from contributors in the \$100 and under category but dramatically unsuccessful in soaking "fat cats." RNC Chairman George Bush and Presidential Counselor Anne Armstrong, "would like above all else to . . . take the hot money label off the GOP for 1974, for 1976 — and for good," in White's opinion. "For the departed fat cats they weep not; never do they sigh for a return to the good old days of the GOP."

● **"Statistics of Change on the Hill"** by David Broder. *The Washington Post*, September 5, 1973. In a column analyzing *Congressional Quarterly's* compilation of congressional voting in support of the President, Broder writes: "... there is no ignoring the Watergate factor in the growing desire of members of Congress to get some distance between themselves and the President . . . A little computation I did on the 13 Republican senators up next year (excluding the pair who have announced their retirement) underlines the politics of the situation. The *Congressional Quarterly* figures show that last year [1972] these men had backed the President 66 percent of the time and opposed him 21 percent of the time (absences accounting for the remaining 13 percent). They were exactly in line with the Senate Republican average [for 1972]. But this year, the Baker's Dozen facing the voters next year have cut their support of the President an average of 17 percent, while the other 24 Republican holdovers have moved only 9 points away from the President. If there is any reason for that sharp disparity between the two groups of Republicans, other than the Watergate-induced desire to avoid looking like a 'Nixon rubber stamp' next year, it does not come readily to mind."

● **"Sandman's Drive Splits Jersey Republican Party,"** by Ronald Sullivan. *New York Times*, September 14, 1973. "Open warfare within a number of big Republican county organizations and charges that Governor (William) Cahill is deliberately plotting the defeat of Representative Charles W. Sandman, Jr., were reported today to be undermining the conservative Republican's campaign for Governor," according to *Times* reporter Sullivan. Although Sullivan's article was considered exaggerated by some Republican observers, the article quoted Bergen County Sandman leader Samuel Bartoletta as alleging that "Cahill is not taking this election sitting down . . . He's out to get Charlie, and he's trying to do it in every county in the state." There is wide agreement that Gov. Cahill's announcement of a \$200 million budget surplus has aided Democratic gubernatorial candidate Brendan T. Byrne by allowing him to back away from advocating a state income tax. Cahill's primary defeat by Sandman has clearly not ended the warfare between party moderates and conservatives led by Sandman. Sullivan reports that former state GOP chairman Webster Todd, who took over the State Republican Finance Committee to aid Sandman's fundraising efforts among moderates, has been unhappy with the Sandman's campaign fiscal accountability. If polls showing a large Byrne lead (and a large bloc of undecided voters) prove correct, more intraparty struggles may follow election day.

● **"GOP Bright Star Looking Forward to Another Race,"** by A.B. Albritton. (Memphis) *Commercial Appeal*, September 2, 1973. "Gil Carmichael has two offices (in Meridian) on the top floor of his automobile dealership. He uses one to talk politics and the other to sell Volkswagens." Carmichael has kept operating the campaign committee which ran his surprisingly strong race against Sen. James O. Eastland (D) last year. According to Albritton, the "brightest star of the Mississippi Republican Party" intends to run either for governor or senator. "Lately he's been thinking more about the 1975 governor's race."